

HISTORICAL COURSE
FOR SCHOOLS, *edited by*
EDWARD A. FREEMAN, D.C.L.

V.

HISTORY OF AMERICA.

Historical Course for Schools.

HISTORY
OF
AMERICA.

BY
JOHN A. DOYLE.



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CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

| | PAGE |
|--|------|
| AMERICA: ITS GEOGRAPHY AND NATIVES | I |

CHAPTER II.

| | |
|---|----|
| THE EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS IN AMERICA DURING THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY | 21 |
|---|----|

CHAPTER III.

| | |
|--------------------|----|
| VIRGINIA | 40 |
|--------------------|----|

CHAPTER IV.

| | |
|--------------------|----|
| PLYMOUTH | 60 |
|--------------------|----|

CHAPTER XI.

| | |
|--------------------|-------------|
| NEW YORK | PAGE 156 |
|--------------------|-------------|

CHAPTER XII.

| | |
|-------------------------|-----|
| THE CAROLINAS | 170 |
|-------------------------|-----|

CHAPTER XIII.

| | |
|-------------------------------|-----|
| THE QUAKER COLONIES | 179 |
|-------------------------------|-----|

CHAPTER XIV.

| | |
|--|-----|
| THE SETTLEMENT OF GEORGIA AND THE SPANISH WAR | 189 |
|--|-----|

CHAPTER XV.

| | |
|---|-----|
| THE CONQUEST OF CANADA AND OF THE OHIO VALLEY | 202 |
|---|-----|

CHAPTER XVI.

| | |
|---|-----|
| GENERAL VIEW OF THE THIRTEEN COLONIES | 217 |
|---|-----|

CHAPTER XVII.

| | PAGE |
|---|------|
| THE STAMP ACT AND THE TEA TAX | 224 |

CHAPTER XVIII.

| | |
|---|-----|
| THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE | 240 |
|---|-----|

CHAPTER XIX.

| | |
|-----------------------------------|-----|
| THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE | 253 |
|-----------------------------------|-----|

CHAPTER XX.

| | |
|------------------------------------|-----|
| THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION | 278 |
|------------------------------------|-----|

CHAPTER XXI.

| | |
|--------------------------------------|-----|
| THE WAR WITH GREAT BRITAIN | 298 |
|--------------------------------------|-----|

CHAPTER XXII.

| | |
|--|-----|
| SOUTH CAROLINA AND NULLIFICATION | 316 |
|--|-----|

CHAPTER XXIII.

| | |
|---|-----|
| GROWING OPPOSITION BETWEEN THE NORTH AND SOUTH | 326 |
|---|-----|

CHAPTER XXIV.

| | |
|------------------------------------|-------------|
| THE SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY | PAGE 337 |
|------------------------------------|-------------|

CHAPTER XXV.

| | |
|--------------------------------|-----|
| THE WAR OF SECESSION | 347 |
|--------------------------------|-----|

CHAPTER XXVI.

| | |
|----------------------|-----|
| CONCLUSION | 386 |
|----------------------|-----|

LIST OF MAPS.

| | <i>To face</i> | <i>Page</i> |
|--|----------------|-------------|
| THE WORLD AS KNOWN IN THE 15TH CENTURY . . . | 21 | |
| THE WORLD AS KNOWN IN THE 18TH CENTURY . . . | 21 | |
| THE THIRTEEN STATES IN 1750 | 217 | |
| FEDERAL AND CONFEDERATE STATES | 347 | |

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

| | A.D. |
|---|------|
| Christopher Columbus sends his brother to the English Court | 1488 |
| Discovery of Hispaniola by Columbus. | 1492 |
| Patent granted to John Cabot | 1496 |
| Discovery of the main land by Sebastian Cabot | 1497 |
| Cabot's second voyage | 1498 |
| Patent granted to Ashurst and others | 1501 |
| Vasco Nuñez crosses the Isthmus of Panama | 1513 |
| Cortez invades Mexico | 1519 |
| Pizarro invades Peru | 1525 |
| Albert de Prado sends out two ships | 1527 |
| Cartier discovers the St. Laurence River | 1534 |
| Hore's voyage | 1536 |
| Sebastian Cabot made Grand Pilot of England. | 1549 |
| French settlement on the coast of Florida | 1562 |
| Frobisher's first voyage | 1576 |
| Gilbert's first voyage | 1579 |
| Gilbert's second voyage, and death | 1583 |
| Raleigh sends out Amidas and Barlow | 1584 |
| Raleigh's first colony | 1585 |
| Raleigh's colonists come home | 1586 |

A. D.

| | |
|--|------|
| Raleigh's second colony | 1587 |
| Defeat of the Armada | 1588 |
| Gosnold's voyage to New England | 1602 |
| Foundation of the London and Plymouth Companies . . . | 1606 |
| Settlement at Jamestown | 1607 |
| Flight of the Scrooby Independents to Holland | 1608 |
| The Virginia Company chartered ; Hudson discovers New Netherlands ; Foundation of Quebec | 1609 |
| Lord Delaware arrives in Virginia | 1610 |
| Marriage of Rolfe and Pocahontas | 1613 |
| First Assembly held at Virginia | 1619 |
| Formation of the second Plymouth Company, Dec. 16 ; Landing of the Puritans at Plymouth | 1620 |
| Formation of the Dutch West India Company | 1621 |
| The massacre in Virginia | 1622 |
| Dissolution of the Virginia Company | 1624 |
| Formation of the Massachusetts Company ; grant of land to John Mason ; capture of Quebec by David Kirk ; grant of Maryland to the first Lord Baltimore | 1629 |
| Emigration of Winthrop | 1630 |
| Settlement of Maryland ; banishment of Roger Williams . . | 1634 |
| Insurrection in Virginia ; dissolution of the Plymouth Com- pany ; Settlement of Connecticut | 1635 |
| Banishment of Mrs. Hutchinson | 1636 |
| The Pequod War | 1637 |
| Settlement of Newhaven ; Charter for Maine granted to Gorges | 1638 |
| Union of New Hampshire with Massachusetts | 1641 |
| Formation of the New England Confederation ; Death of Miantonomo | 1643 |
| Patent for Providence obtained by Roger Williams | 1644 |
| Dispute between New Netherlands and Newhaven | 1646 |

| | A.D. |
|---|------|
| Narragansett War | 1650 |
| Quaker writings forbidden by the Assembly of Massachusetts ; overthrow of the Proprietary Government in Maryland | 1654 |
| Restoration of the Proprietary Government in Maryland . . | 1657 |
| Charters granted to Rhode Island and Connecticut ; grant of Carolina to Shaftesbury and others | 1663 |
| Commissioners sent out from England to the New England colonies ; union of Newhaven and Connecticut ; conquest of New Netherlands [New York] by the English . . . | 1664 |
| Foundation of Elizabethtown in New Jersey | 1665 |
| Grant of Virginia to Lords Culpepper and Arlington . . . | 1669 |
| Recovery of New York by the Dutch ; insurrection in New Jersey ; Marquette explores the West | 1673 |
| Restoration of New York to the English | 1674 |
| King Philip's war | 1675 |
| Bacon's rebellion in Virginia | 1676 |
| Division of New Jersey into East and West ; New Hampshire and Maine become separate colonies | 1677 |
| Insurrection in North Carolina | 1678 |
| Grant of land to William Penn | 1680 |
| Insurrection in Maryland | 1681 |
| Settlement of the Constitution of Pennsylvania | 1682 |
| The Charter of Massachusetts annulled ; first Assembly in New York | 1683 |
| La Salle explores the Mississippi | 1684 |
| The New England colonies placed under a Governor and Council ; New York placed under a Governor and Council | 1686 |
| Andros demands the surrender of the Charter of Connecticut ; the Five Nations invade Canada | 1687 |
| Deposition of Governor Sothel in North Carolina | 1688 |

| | A.D. |
|---|---------|
| First French War | 1689-94 |
| Insurrection in South Carolina | 1690 |
| Congress of the Northern colonies at New York ; execu- tion of Leisler ; separation of Pennsylvania and the Territories | 1691 |
| Trials for witchcraft in New England | 1692 |
| Penn grants the settlers a new charter | 1701 |
| East and West New Jersey united under the crown | 1702 |
| Second French War | 1702-12 |
| Delaware becomes a separate colony ; war in South Carolina with the Appalachians | 1703 |
| Disputes in Massachusetts about the governor's salary ; war in North Carolina with the Tuscaroras | 1705 |
| Invasion of South Carolina by the Yamassees | 1711 |
| Overthrow of Proprietary Government in South Carolina . | 1719 |
| The proprietors of North Carolina surrender their charter . | 1724 |
| The Peace of Falmouth ; further disputes in Massachusetts between the Assembly and Governor | 1726 |
| First settlement of Georgia | 1733 |
| The Spaniards threaten Georgia | 1736 |
| War declared with Spain | 1739 |
| Invasion of Georgia | 1742 |
| Third French War | 1744-8 |
| Capture of Louisburg | 1745 |
| Washington sent as a commissioner to the Ohio valley . . | 1753 |
| Washington defeats Jumonville at Great Meadow, May 27th ; Congress at Albany, June 19th | 1754 |
| Braddock's defeat, July 9th | 1755 |
| Wolfe takes Quebec | 1759 |
| Cherokee War | 1760 |
| Peace of Paris and cession of Canada ; Pontiac's War . . | 1763 |
| Grenville gives notice of the Stamp Act, March 9th . . . | 1764 |

A. D.

| | |
|---|--------|
| The Stamp Act passed, March 22nd ; Congress of nine colonies at New York, October 7th | 1765 |
| ✓ Stamp Act repealed, March 18th | 1766 |
| Duty imposed on tea and other imports, May 13th | 1767 |
| British troops sent to Boston, October 1st | 1768 |
| The Boston massacre, March 5th ; all duties repealed except that on tea, May 1st | 1770 |
| Destruction of tea at Boston, December 13th | 1773 |
| The Boston Port Act put in force, June 1st ; Congress at Philadelphia, September 5th | 1774 |
| The Battle of Lexington, April 19th ; capture of Ticonderoga, May 10th ; Battle of Bunker's Hill, June 17th | 1775 |
| The British leave Boston, March 17th ; Declaration of Independence, July 4th | 1776 |
| Battle of the Brandywine, September 11th ; Burgoyne surrenders, October 17th | 1777 |
| Treaty signed with France, February 6th | 1778 |
| Capture of André, September 23rd | 1780 |
| Cornwallis surrenders, October 19th | 1781 |
| Peace signed between Great Britain and the United States, September 3rd | 1783 |
| Insurrection in Massachusetts ; convention for forming the Federal Constitution | 1787 |
| ✓ Establishment of the new Federal Government | 1789 |
| Indian War | 1790-4 |
| Insurrection in Pennsylvania | 1791 |
| Invention of the cotton-gin by Whitney | 1793 |
| Death of Washington, December 14th | 1799 |
| Washington made the seat of Government | 1800 |
| War with the Barbary States | 1800-3 |
| Death of Hamilton, July 11th | 1804 |
| England and France interfere with the commerce of neutrals | 1806 |

| | A.D. |
|---|------|
| The "Leopard" and "Chesapeake," June 22nd ; Fulton's steam-boat launched on the Hudson | 1807 |
| The Shawnee Indians defeated at Tippecanoe | 1811 |
| War declared with England ; invasion of Canada, June 18th | 1812 |
| "Chesapeake" and "Shannon," June 1st | 1813 |
| Destruction of Washington, August 24th ; peace signed at Ghent, December 24th | 1814 |
| Defeat of the British before New Orleans, January 8th | 1815 |
| Calhoun's, Protection Bill | 1816 |
| First Seminole War | 1817 |
| The Missouri Compromise | 1821 |
| Deaths of Jefferson and Adams, July 4th | 1826 |
| Attempt to purchase Texas from Mexico | 1827 |
| First appearance of the Mormons | 1830 |
| Attempt at nullification by South Carolina ; bank struggle | 1832 |
| Second Seminole War | 1835 |
| Texas declares itself independent of Mexico | 1836 |
| Departure of the Mormons to Illinois | 1838 |
| Affair of the "Carolina" | 1840 |
| Affair of the "Creole" ; Ashburton Treaty | 1842 |
| Annexation of Texas | 1845 |
| Outbreak of Mexican War | 1846 |
| Capture of the city of Mexico, September 14th ; disputes with Great Britain about Oregon | 1847 |
| Gold discoveries in California, January ; Treaty of Guada- lupe Hidalgo, February 2nd | 1848 |
| Departure of the Mormons to Utah, May ; Clay's Omnibus Bill passed, September | 1851 |
| Missouri Compromise repealed | 1854 |
| Struggle in Kansas | 1855 |
| Dred Scott case | 1857 |
| Execution of John Brown, December 3rd | 1859 |

| | A.D. |
|--|------|
| Election of Lincoln ; South Carolina secedes, December 20th | 1860 |
| Southern Confederacy formed, February 4th ; fall of Fort Sumter, April 13th ; Virginia joins the Southern Confederacy, April 17th ; Battle of Bull's Run, July 21st ; appearance of the steam-ram "Manasses," Oct. 12th ; seizure of Messrs Mason and Slidell, November 8th . . . | 1861 |
| Capture of Fort Henry, February 6th ; capture of Fort Donelson, February 16th ; fight of the "Merrimac" and "Monitor," March 7th ; Battle of Shiloh, April 7th ; capture of New Orleans, April 25th ; Battle of Fair Oaks, May 31st ; Battle of Antietam, September 17th ; Battle of Fredericksburg, December 13th ; Battle of Murfreesboro, December 31st | 1862 |
| Lincoln's proclamation freeing the slaves, January 1st ; Battle of Chancellorsville, May 2nd and 3rd ; Battle of Gettysburg, July 1st and 3rd ; fall of Vicksburg, July 6th ; riots at New York, July 13th ; Battle of Chickamauga, September 19th and 20th ; Battle of Chattanooga, November 24th | 1863 |
| Battle of the Wilderness, May 5th-12th ; destruction of the "Alabama," June 14th ; capture of Atlanta, September 2nd ; Battle of Winchester, October 19th ; Battle of Nashville, December 15th and 16th ; capture of Savannah, December 21st | 1864 |
| Fall of Richmond, April 3rd ; Lee's surrender, April 9th ; murder of Lincoln, April 14th ; Johnston's surrender, May 26th ; conditional amnesty, May 29th | 1865 |

LIST OF PRESIDENTS.

| | |
|---|-----------|
| * GEORGE WASHINGTON, Virginia | 1789-1797 |
| JOHN ADAMS, Massachusetts | 1797-1801 |
| * THOMAS JEFFERSON, Virginia | 1801-1809 |
| * JAMES MADISON, Virginia | 1809-1817 |
| * JAMES MONROE, Virginia | 1817-1825 |
| JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, Massachusetts | 1825-1829 |
| * ANDREW JACKSON, Tennessee | 1829-1837 |
| MARTIN VAN BUREN, New York | 1837-1841 |
| WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, Ohio (Died April 4th). | 1841 |
| † JOHN TYLER, Virginia | 1841-1845 |
| JAMES POLK, Tennessee | 1845-1849 |
| ZACHARY TAYLOR, Virginia (Died July 9th). | 1849 |
| † MILLARD FILLMORE, New York | 1849-1853 |
| FRANKLIN PIERCE, New Hampshire | 1853-1857 |
| JAMES BUCHANAN, Pennsylvania | 1857-1861 |
| * ABRAHAM LINCOLN, Illinois (Murdered April 14th). | 1861-1865 |
| † ANDREW JOHNSON, North Carolina | 1865-1869 |
| * Re-elected. | |

† Elected vice-presidents, and succeeded to the Presidency through accidental vacancies.

Population of the original Thirteen States in 1870.

| | |
|--------------------------|-----------|
| Connecticut | 537,454 |
| Delaware | 125,015 |
| Virginia | 1,225,163 |
| New York | 4,382,759 |
| New Hampshire | 318,300 |
| New Jersey | 906,096 |
| North Carolina | 1,071,361 |
| South Carolina | 705,606 |
| Maryland | 780,894 |
| Pennsylvania | 3,521,951 |
| Georgia | 1,184,109 |
| Rhode Island | 217,353 |
| Massachusetts | 1,457,351 |

States admitted after the original Thirteen States.

| | Admitted as Territor.es. | Admitted as States. | Population in 1870. |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| Vermont | — | 1791 | 330,551 |
| Kentucky | — | 1795 | 1,321,011 |
| Tennessee | — | 1796 | 1,258,520 |
| Ohio | — | 1802 | 2,665,260 |
| Louisiana | 1804 | 1812 | 726,915 |
| Indiana | 1800 | 1816 | 1,688,637 |
| Mississippi | 1798 | 1817 | 827,922 |
| Illinois | 1809 | 1818 | 2,539,891 |
| Alabama | 1798 | 1819 | 996,992 |
| Maine | — | 1820 | 626,915 |
| Missouri | 1811 | 1821 | 1,721,295 |
| Arkansas | 1819 | 1836 | 484,471 |
| Michigan | 1805 | 1837 | 1,184,059 |
| Florida | 1822 | 1845 | 187,748 |
| Texas | — | 1846 | 818,579 |
| Iowa | 1838 | 1846 | 1,194,109 |
| Wisconsin | 1836 | 1848 | 1,054,670 |
| California | — | 1850 | 560,247 |
| Oregon | 1848 | 1857 | 90,923 |
| Minnesota | 1849 | 1857 | 439,706 |
| Kansas | 1854 | 1861 | 364,399 |
| Western Virginia | — | 1863 | 442,014 |
| Nevada | 1861 | 1864 | 42,491 |

ERRATA.

- Page 47, line 14 *for* "1614," *read* "1612."
- " 65, line 18 *for* "Mossasoit," *read* "Massasoit."
- " 95, line 11 *for* "1602," *read* "1609."
- " 133, line 5 from bottom, *for* "the same year," *read* "1697."
- " 136, line 12 *for* "the next year," *read* "1713."
- " 365, line 7, *after* "this," *insert* "the Federal general."

HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.

CHAPTER I.

AMERICA : ITS GEOGRAPHY AND NATIVES.

Geography of America (1)—two views of American geography (2)—geography of the United States (3)—position of America towards other countries (4) — the coast of America (5) — the northern coast (6)—the natives (7)—division of races (8)—the civilized races (9)—the Peruvians (10)—the Mexicans (11)—the islanders (12) —the Red Indians (13).

I. **Geography of America.**—Before entering upon the history of any people, it is well to get a distinct idea of the land in which they dwell. This knowledge is especially needful in the case of newly settled nations like the European colonies in America. For there is one great point of difference between the present inhabitants of America and the rest of the civilized nations of the world. Except the English settlers in Australia and New Zealand, they are the only civilized people of any importance who have entered into their present dwelling-place in times of which we have full and clear accounts. Of the great nations of Europe and Asia some were settled in their present abodes in times so early that we know nothing certain

about them. The greater part moved in times of which we know something, often indeed a good deal, but of which we have no exact history. It is always very difficult to say how far the condition and character of a nation are the result of the physical features of the country in which it dwells, or of other causes which we cannot trace. But in looking at the present nations of America, we have this great advantage. We can see the country as it was before the inhabitants came to it, and we can see the inhabitants as they were before they came to the country. For they went there in times when nearly as much was known about the chief nations of Europe as is now. Thus we can compare the people as they were before they came to America with what their descendants became afterwards, and we can also compare those descendants with the descendants of the men who stayed at home in Europe; and as we also have full knowledge of all that has befallen them since they went out, we can to some extent make out how far their history since has been affected by the nature of the land in which they dwell, and how far by other causes. With every country it is needful to know something of its geography before we can understand its history, but this is especially needful in America. There is no reason for thinking that the character of the country has had more influence on the history of the people there than elsewhere, but the influence which it has had is more important to us, because we can make out more about it.

2. *Two views of American Geography.*—There are two ways in which the geography of a country may be looked at. We may look at it, so to speak, from within and from without. We may consider the country merely as one of the various parts of which the world is made up, and see how it stands towards other countries, how it is separated from them, and how it may be most easily

reached from them: or we may consider the country by itself, setting all other lands aside for the moment, and concerning ourselves entirely with its internal character, its shape, soil, climate, and the like. In order to understand the history of the American settlements, we must look at the geography of America in each of these ways. As the founders of the settlements with which we have to deal came from Europe, we must see how America stood towards Europe, from what parts of Europe it could be most easily reached, and in what parts of America men sailing thence would be likely to settle. Secondly, we must look at the country in which the settlers established themselves, and see what effects it was likely to have on the inhabitants; how far it was suited to trade, how far to agriculture, and generally what sort of a state was likely to grow up in such a country.

3. *Geography of the United States.*—However, the subject before us is not the history of America, but only of a certain part of it, namely, of those English colonies which have since become the United States; therefore we are only concerned with the internal geography of so much of the country as those States occupy. That is, we have to look at a strip of land along the Atlantic coast of America, nearly 3,000 miles long, and at most parts about 200 miles broad. The present boundary of the States indeed extends much farther inland, and so did their professed boundary when they were first settled. But, as is almost always the case in a newly colonized country, all the settlements of any importance were along the coast, and, as they extended inland, those that were near the coast still kept the lead in politics and education and general activity. So that, just as for a time the history of Europe was little more than the history of the nations along the coast of the Mediterranean, so the history of the United States has been

hitherto the history of the English settlements along the coast of the Atlantic.

4. **Position of America towards other Countries.**—Before going into the internal geography of the United States, it will be as well to look at the subject in the other way, and to consider how America stands towards other countries. The first thing probably which strikes everyone on looking at a map of America is its complete separation from the rest of the world. There is, we may say, no part of the eastern coast less than 3,000 miles from Europe, and no part of the western less than 6,000 from Asia. Towards the north both Asia and Europe are much nearer to America, but in those parts the cold is so great, the soil so barren, and the sea so unfit for navigation, that it is scarcely possible for men to exist on either side in a state of civilization, or if they did, to emigrate from one continent to the other. As far then as we are concerned, America is separated from Europe by the whole of the Atlantic ocean, and from Asia by the whole of the Pacific. We can also at once see that America reaches almost in a straight line from north to south, forming a sort of bar across the western half of the world, and facing Europe on the one side and Asia on the other. We can see too that in order to reach the west coast from Europe or the east coast from Asia, one would have to sail right round Africa. So it is clear that no one in the common course of things would ever sail from Europe to America except across the Atlantic, or from Asia across the Pacific. Thus America is twice as far from Asia as it is from Europe. Nor is this all. If we look at any map of America in which the height of the ground is shown, we shall at once see a great difference between the eastern, or, as we may call it, the European, and the western or Asiatic coast. A chain of mountains runs along the whole length of the continent, not like a backbone, down the middle, but all along the

west side, forming a sort of wall between the mainland and the Pacific. In many places these mountains form steep precipices close to the shore, and there is scarcely a single spot on the whole coast where land does not almost at once rise more than 500 feet above the sea. To make this barrier more complete, the face of these mountains is in many parts covered with thick woods, and, as we can easily see, it was just as impossible for men coming from the east to make their way into the country by water as by land. For, except far north, there is not on the west side of America a single river large enough to be of any use to expeditions of settlers wishing to make their way inland. And moreover the greater part of the coast is barren and unhealthy, and badly supplied with fresh water. If, on the other hand, we look at the opposite coast, we shall see that its whole character is quite different. For nearly the whole length of it consists of low land sloping down to the sea, and all the rivers of the American continent flow into it; and it is well supplied with harbours and fertile islands within easy reach of the mainland, where ships could stop and take in supplies of food and water. Putting together all these differences, and remembering that the voyage from Asia to America was twice as long as that from Europe, we can see that those European nations who could sail their ships on the Atlantic were almost sure to be the colonizers of America.

5. *The Coast of America.*—Another point to be noticed is that, as the coast line of America runs almost directly north and south, there was the greatest possible difference of latitude, and therefore of climate, between the various parts of the coast. Besides this, there were other points of difference between the various parts of the eastern coast. It was all well supplied with rivers and harbours, and none of it fenced in by mountains. But the most northerly part was cold and barren, and unlikely to tempt either colonists

or traders. Then a long stretch of coast going southward from the river Orinoco was unhealthy, and the land could hardly be traversed, partly for fear of wild beasts and partly from the vast growth of forest and underwood; and the rivers, although broad, were so swift as to be difficult to sail up, and full of alligators, and it was unsafe to halt on the banks. To the south of this again there was a tract of fertile land fit for settlements. But as this was much farther from Europe than the more northerly parts, settlers would not be likely to go there as long as any of the country which could be more easily reached was unoccupied. So that the land which was in every way most fit for settlements was that which lay somewhat to the south-west of Europe, stretching from the Gulf of St. Lawrence on the north to the mouth of the Orinoco on the south. This is not all mainland. For from Point Sable at the end of the promontory of Florida where the coast turns northward, to the island of Trinidad where the coast, after winding round the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea, again turns south, there is a belt of islands running right across from point to point. And since the widest outlet between any of these islands is less than 100 miles, men sailing from Europe could hardly fail to light on them before they reached the mainland beyond. And as these islands are fertile and well watered, and have many good harbours, we can see that the possession of them would be a great advantage to any nation attempting to colonize the mainland. For an island, if well supplied with necessaries, is a far more secure position for a small force than any point on the mainland can be; especially for those who can command the sea and have nothing to fear from their neighbours except by land. And men who had once established themselves in these islands could form small settlements and make forts and build fleets, and so use the islands as stepping-stones to

farther conquests on the mainland. So that whatever civilized nation held these islands held the key of America, and had it in its power to colonize the mainland both to the north and south, and to keep out other nations, so far as its resources and the number of settlers that it could spare might allow.

6. *The Northern Coast.*—The coast however which lies just to the north-west of these islands is that on which the English colonies were placed, and with which therefore we are most concerned. One can easily see that there is no tract along the whole coast of America better supplied with harbours and navigable rivers. It will be seen too that there is no chain of mountains of any importance for nearly 2,000 miles inland. Of the nature of the soil, the chief thing to be noticed is that along the greater part of the coast, the most fertile land, or at least that which was best fitted for growing corn and the other necessities of life, is cut off from the sea by a belt of poorer soil. Thus the general tendency of the settlements was to extend inland, as there were neither mountains nor forests to hinder them, and the rivers offered easy means of carriage. As was said before, the history of the United States is the history of a strip of land along the Atlantic coast; but it is also the history of a movement from that coast towards the west. But it must be remembered that this movement was always an extension and not a migration; that is to say, that it was made not by the inhabitants of the coast leaving their abodes and moving inland, but by new settlers, or those born in America who wanted land, gradually moving westward without losing their connexion with the original settlements. Of course, over such a vast tract of country there were great differences in soil and climate, and other respects, but it will be best to speak of these when we come to deal one by one with the history of the separate States.

7. The Natives.—There is another subject besides the geography of America at which we must look if we would understand in what sort of a country the European colonists had to settle. They found men already dwelling in all those parts of America which they explored, and the character of these inhabitants had a great effect on the colonies. It will be most convenient for our purpose to divide these people into three groups. Firstly, there were those nations who in many things were quite as clever and skilful as any of the inhabitants of Europe, and had as much or more knowledge of many matters, such as farming, road-making, building, carpentry, and working in gold and silver, and who may therefore be fairly called *civilized*. Then there were those who were not nearly so advanced in those acquirements, but who yet had so much knowledge of many of the useful arts that we must call them at least *half-civilized*. Lastly, there were those who understood as little of those things as is possible for any nation who live together in settled groups and are at all better than wild beasts, and these we may call *savages*. These three groups will answer roughly to three geographical divisions. The first group will occupy the whole of the mountain-chain along the west coast, from the south of Peru to the north of Mexico, and will include four nations, the Peruvians, the Muyscans, the Mexicans, and the Tlascalans. But they can only be roughly described as occupying this region, since the Peruvians are separated from the Muyscans and the Muyscans from the Mexicans by wide districts inhabited by tribes of the second, or half-civilized, class. The Tlascalans were just to the east of Mexico near the coast, and they seem to have been the only important tribe that kept its independence when the Mexicans conquered the rest of the neighbouring countries. Besides the interval of country just mentioned between the greater nations, the second group inhabited the whole coast

called what they believed to be the two sides of this coast, *The East* and *West Indies*, according as they were reached from Europe by sailing east or west. Soon after its discovery the mainland got the name of America from an Italian, Amerigo Vespucci, who was one of the first voyagers thither. But those parts which alone were known to the first discoverers, namely, the islands outside the Mexican Gulf, still kept the name of *The West Indies*, and keep it to this day. And though we have so far got rid of this mode of speaking that we never make use of the name of India except for a particular part of Asia, we still keep the old use, not only in the name of the West Indies, but when we speak of the East India Company and the East India Docks, and the like. And the name Indian now usually means a native of America, not of India itself. It will be most convenient to give this name to our third group, and to call them simply *Indians*, and when we have occasion to speak of the second group to call them the Indians of South America, or of the Islands, as the case may be. Only it must be remembered that this way of speaking, like many others in history, which it is impossible to avoid, had its origin in a mistake.

9. *The Civilized Races*.—Our knowledge of the first of these three groups comes almost wholly from Spanish writers, who describe the conquest of America by Spain. These writers seldom cared to inquire into the history and customs of the natives, except so far as they have something to do with the conquest. Thus, as the Muyscans and Tlascalans were never conquered at a single stroke like the Mexicans and Peruvians, we hear but little of them. The Tlascalans differed from the others in their government, which was much more free, and they seem to have been the bravest and most warlike of all the civilized nations of America. The other three nations were all alike in two important points. Each was governed by a

hereditary line of monarchs, and each believed that in former times some man of a superior race had visited them and taught them their religion and many of their arts. All of them seem to have been as well supplied with the comforts of life as any of the nations of Europe in that age. They were skilful husbandmen, and built good houses and richly decorated temples, and in their dress they studied both ornament and comfort, and they worked cleverly with gold and silver and precious stones. In one of the most useful arts, that of road-making, the Mexicans and Peruvians were both far in advance of the Europeans of that age. For though both countries were woody and mountainous, there were roads between all the great cities, and in Peru there was a great high road as wonderful as any work ever made by human hands. It was nearly 200 miles long, and in places it was carried by galleries and terraces and staircases along the side of precipices; and steep ravines were either filled up with masonry or had hanging bridges thrown across them. On all the great roads, both in Peru and Mexico, there were stations at short intervals, with messengers, kept by the Government, who ran from one to the other. In this way, without the use of steam or horses, messages, and even goods, could be sent at the rate of 200 miles a day. So that it is said that, though the city of Mexico was 200 miles inland, yet fish from the sea was served at the Emperor's table only twenty-four hours after it was caught. In the art of fortification they seem to have been little, if at all, behind Europeans. For near Cuzco, the great city of Peru, was a fortress 1,200 feet long, all built of finely-wrought stones closely fitted together without mortar, and this was joined to the city by underground galleries. They also understood how to make the best of naturally strong places by building their fortresses on the edge of precipices, and cutting away rocks so as only to leave a steep face. The Tlascalans had enclosed their whole

country with a wall, and its entrance was so arranged that anyone coming in was liable to be shot at by archers and spearmen, who were themselves behind the wall. In Peru and Mexico all the public buildings, the temples and palaces and market-places and gardens, were larger and in many ways more beautiful than anything of the kind in Europe. What makes all this the more wonderful is that the people had no knowledge of the use of iron, nor any wheeled carriages, nor beasts of burthen able to bear any great weight, so that everything had to be done by men's hands with scarcely any help.

10. *The Peruvians.*—Though the Peruvians and Mexicans were in many ways alike, still there were points in which they differed widely, and to understand these we must consider the two nations separately. The country of Peru formed a strip of land along the west coast about 3,000 miles long and 400 or 500 broad; a great part of this is occupied by high mountains. But the valleys between, and even parts of the mountain slopes, were fertile, and everything was done by watering and skilful husbandry to make the best of the soil, and all the country except the very highest ground was thickly peopled. The inhabitants were probably the most civilized of all the nations of America, and in one way at least they were the most remarkable of all the races of the earth of whom we know anything. There is no people told of in history who lived so completely according to the will of their rulers, and who had all the arrangement of their life and all their doings so completely settled for them. They were governed by a hereditary line of Emperors, called Incas. These Incas were believed to be, and probably were, of a different race from the rest of the Peruvians; and the Inca nobility, the kindred of the Emperor, held all the great offices, and seemed to have been the only persons who enjoyed any kind of freedom. All the land was divided into three parts—one for the Sun, whom they

worshipped as a god, another for the Inca, and the rest for the nation. The first two shares were cultivated by all the people working together, and then they were free to till their own land. This third portion was from time to time divided into lots, and one of these lots given to every man in the nation, a larger or smaller lot according to the number of his family, to be held till the land was again divided. All the produce of the country besides what was grown on the soil was got from the mines and from beasts, wild and tame. All these belonged to the Inca, and all the labour of getting in the produce and making it into useful articles was done by the people working without pay as his servants. Then from the stores so procured such things as were needed by the people, clothes and the like, were served out as they were wanted. As the land allotted to each man was only enough to feed himself and his family, no one could have any property except his house and land; and there was no buying and selling, and no man could grow rich except the Inca or his kindred, who were freed from work and perhaps had estates of their own. But though the people lived in this way, little better than slaves, they seem to have been well off for all bodily comforts, and to have been most carefully watched over by the Incas, that none might be overworked and all well cared for in old age and sickness. As there was no trade, and no one except the Inca and his chief nobles had anything to do with the government, the only things besides manual labour in which the mass of the people were concerned were religion and war. Their religion consisted for the most part of the worship of the Sun. They had indeed other gods, but the Sun was by far the most important. As we have seen, a third of the land was set aside for the Sun, and the produce was used to maintain a great number of priests, and to provide great public festivals, at which wine and food were offered to their god. This worship of the Sun may be said to have

been in a manner the object for which the nation existed. For all its wars, like those of the Mahometans, were made to extend the religion of the nation and to force other people to worship as they did. Yet their religion seems to have done very little towards quickening their minds, nor do their priests seem to have had much influence over them, nor to have taught them to think about matters of right and wrong. Indeed in general it would seem as if the Peruvians had very little power of thinking. For, even in those arts in which they excelled, they do not seem to have had any turn for invention, or for anything more than doing well and carefully what their fathers had done before them. Moreover, as everything was done for them by the Incas, and no man could get rich by his own skill or wit, or in any way advance himself, a clever man was no better off than a stupid one, and there was nothing to sharpen men's powers and to teach them to act and think for themselves. Such an empire, however great and powerful it might seem, rested on no sure foundation. For if any mischance befell the Inca, the whole empire was left helpless, and the different parts of it had no power of protecting themselves. For though the skill of the Peruvians in fortification and making weapons and the like might enable them to conquer neighbouring nations who were backward in such things, yet this would profit them little against civilized enemies. The very size of the empire too was a source of weakness: for it is always hard to manage and guard the distant frontier of a great empire, especially when it is made up of newly-conquered, and perhaps unfriendly, provinces. For in such there will almost always be some disobedience and some remains of hatred; and a crafty enemy will make use of these, and so turn the strength of the empire against itself and almost conquer it by the hands of its own subjects.

11. The Mexicans.—The Mexicans, although in some

ways like the Peruvians, differed from them in many important points. Though under the government of a single ruler, they enjoyed far greater freedom in the general affairs of life. Men bought and sold and got wealth, and rich merchants occupied positions of great dignity in the state. In handicrafts they were perhaps scarcely equal to the Peruvians; but in other and more important matters they were far ahead of them. For while the Peruvians had no alphabet, and nothing of the kind better than knots tied on pieces of string as tokens, the Mexicans had a system of writing, in which they did not use letters, but signified things by pictures and emblems. The priests also, who were the most learned class among them, had gone far in the knowledge of astronomy. Their religion, unlike that of the Peruvians, seems to have had a great influence on their conduct, and dwelt much on their good and bad deeds and the importance of right and wrong in the sight of God; and it taught them to humble themselves and make amends for their sins by fasts and penances. But there was one feature in their religion which quite outweighed any good that it might have done. For they sacrificed men, and that not on rare occasions, but commonly and in great numbers, and feasted solemnly on their flesh. They were fierce and cruel in their dealings with the neighbouring countries, and some of these they had overcame, and others, like Tlascala, were still independent and at war with them. Though the people were a far abler and less slavish race than the Peruvians, the empire was beset by the same danger. For its frontier was threatened alike by unfaithful subjects and open enemies.

12. *The Islanders.*—Of our second group, the people of the islands and the neighbouring mainland, it is not needful to say much. They were divided into many small tribes living in separate villages, each governed by a chief

or Cacique of its own, and having little to do with one another either in the way of friendship or of war. They dwelt in stone houses, and lived chiefly by tillage, depending but little either on hunting or fishing. They seem to have had most of the comforts of life and to have shown some skill in handicrafts ; but, scattered as they were in small groups, they could accomplish nothing like the great works and buildings of Mexico and Peru. They were kindly and well-disposed people, peaceable among themselves and hospitable to strangers. But they were weak in body and mind, and in no way fit to resist an enemy that came against them in any force. For they had neither the strength of the civilized man which lies in fortresses and military engines, nor that of the savage in hardihood and cunning and being able to leave his home at a moment's notice and plunge into the forest. So these islanders were at the mercy of any civilized nation that attacked them, and might almost be called born slaves.

13. *The Red Indians.*—The third group contains those with whom the English settlers had to deal, and it is therefore needful that we should have a clear idea of what manner of people they were. In judging of what they were when the settlers came among them, we must be careful not to be misled by those who have only seen them in later times ; for those white men who have had most to do with the Indians have been traders whose only object was to make money out of them, and who have seldom scrupled to cheat and injure them. Even the Missionaries, and those who wished well to the Indians, have for the most part only seen them after the traders had brought in drunkenness and other vices, and taught them to distrust all white men as enemies and knaves, so that we can only learn the real character of the Indians from the first explorers who saw them before any white men had come among them,

and from those travellers who have been in districts where the traders had scarcely made their way. The account that we have from these writers is very different from, and on the whole much more favourable than, that generally given. Nothing could be more different than the life of these northern nations from that of the civilized races of America. The Indians were divided into a vast number of tribes, the largest of which numbered about forty or fifty thousand, while most of them were much smaller. Each of these tribes had its own territory, and was quite independent of the rest, and only in one instance do they seem to have attempted to unite in larger bodies. In the northern countries on each side of the Canadian lakes there was a league or confederacy, consisting at one time of five and at another of six of the most powerful and warlike nations. But this seems to have been the only attempt of the kind. All the tribes of any size were subdivided into villages, which were almost independent, each managing its own affairs under its own chief. Each tribe was governed by a hereditary head chief, but, as is always the case where there are no written laws and scarcely a fixed system of government, the authority of these head chiefs varied greatly. An able and ambitious chief was really the king of the nation, and arranged matters after his own will ; but with a weak or easy-tempered head, the under-chiefs, or *sachems*, as they were called, governed their own villages much as they pleased. In no case however did the chief either of a tribe or of a nation govern by his own arbitrary will, but all important matters were settled by public meetings, at which every man renowned either for wisdom or courage was entitled to be heard. As might be supposed, a people living in this scattered fashion had none of the arts of life but in the simplest and rudest forms. They tilled the soil, after a fashion, and grew scanty crops of corn and vegetables ; but this labour was considered disgraceful and left entirely to the

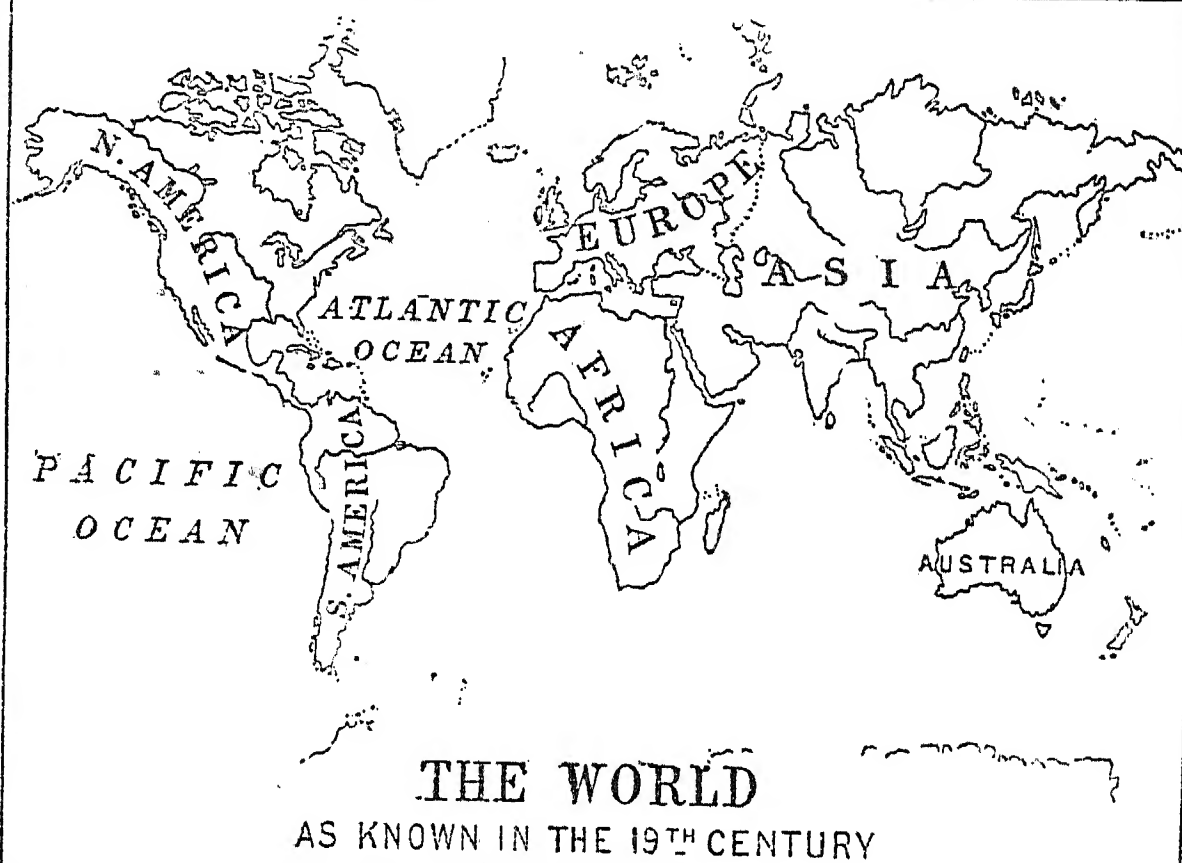
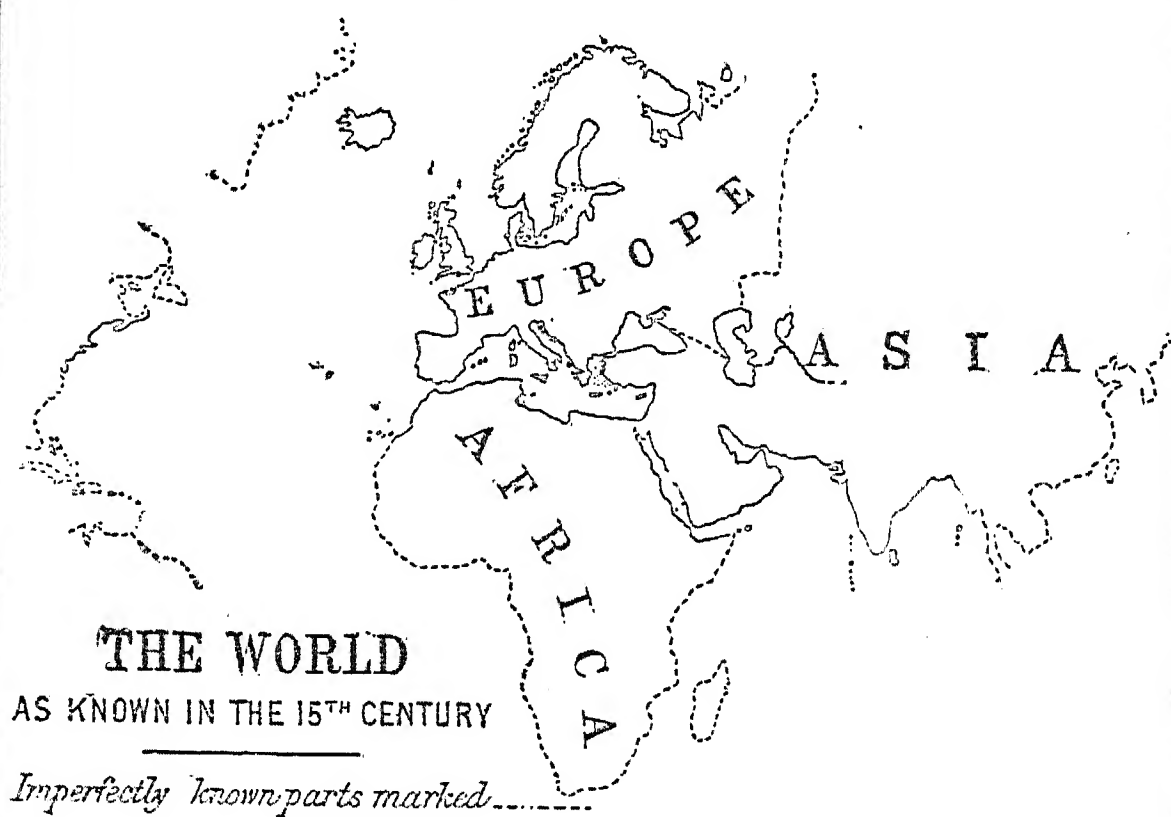
women ; they knew nothing about building in stone, but lived, some in huts made of timber daubed with mud, such as is often used now in English farm-buildings, and most of them in tents made of poles and skins. Yet it seems as if they neglected all useful industry rather because their mode of life did not need it, and could not indeed have been much bettered by it, than from any incapacity. For they showed themselves in no way unskilful in those few handicrafts to which they did apply themselves. Living in a country full of lakes and rivers, they needed boats, and these they made with great skill. Some tribes indeed hollowed them out of single logs by a slow and toilsome process, but others made them of wicker-work covered with birch bark skilfully sewn together. Many of their articles, such as hatchets, bows, lances, shields and pipes, were cleverly constructed, and often tastefully ornamented ; and they showed great skill in dressing skins for their clothes, and decorating their robes and head-dresses with feathers. As the woods swarmed with game, which gave them all they wanted in the way of food and clothing, it is not easy to see what need they had for mechanical arts, or in what way such knowledge would have made them happier. For we must not suppose that the degraded and unhappy life which they have been seen leading in modern times is anything like their natural condition. On the contrary, they seem to have been a remarkably happy and cheerful people, fond of amusements and games, and clever in contriving them. Besides the games of ball in which the whole tribe joined, they had public dances and sham fights, both conducted with regular movements, which could only be learned by careful study and drill. One matter in which all the tribes seemed to have resembled one another more or less, was their religion. There were various points of difference, and some tribes had different modes of worship from others. yet all alike believed in one supreme God, or Great

Spirit, as they called Him. They believed that He watched all their actions and rewarded and punished them, and they sought to please Him by penances, and prayers and fastings, and by great public feasts, though not, as it seems, by human sacrifices as the Mexicans did. They also believed that men would live again after death, and be happy or miserable according as they deserved well or ill in this world. Though they were so far behind the other nations of America in mechanical skill, yet in sagacity and political cleverness they were probably in advance of them ; for, living as they did in small bodies, where each man had a voice in affairs, every man's wits were called out to the utmost, and no one was suffered to become a mere machine. Their two chief pursuits, hunting and war, had the same effect. For hunting, especially when done not for sport but to get food, not only makes men strong and active and quickens their eyesight, but teaches them readiness and patience. And their system of war was not like that of civilized soldiers, where only one man in a thousand has to think and the rest have little more to do than to obey, but they went out in small parties, sometimes of two or three ; and there was scarcely any hand-to-hand fighting, but everything lay in outwitting and surprising the enemy. They did not think mere strength and courage without wit enough for a ruler, for in many tribes there were two chiefs, one to govern in peace and the other to lead in war ; and in some cases chiefs who had lost the use of their limbs, but whose wisdom was highly valued, still kept their power,--and we even read of women chiefs. Speaking generally, they seem to have been good friends and dangerous foes, kind and hospitable to strangers so long as they suspected no guile, but utterly merciless when they had once begun a quarrel. For of their faults cruelty was by far the worst, and in war they spared neither women nor children, and not content with killing their prisoners, they put them to dreadful

tortures. Yet it must be said that, if they were ready to inflict torture, they were likewise ready to bear it; and indeed an Indian prisoner would have felt insulted if he had been merely put to death without a chance of showing what torments he could undergo quietly. Nor must we forget that it is only quite lately that civilized men in Europe have ceased to inflict sufferings on one another fully as great, both in war and in the execution of cruel laws.

Such a people as this, one can easily see, would be stubborn foes for any strangers to deal with. Their country too was ill-suited for civilized troops. For as there were no cities or storehouses, and scarcely any crops, it would be hardly possible for large bodies of men who did not know the country to maintain themselves. Moreover, the two great advantages which civilized men possess in war, horses and fire-arms, would be of much less value in such a country. For among rivers and forests horses are of little use, and, without horses and waggons to carry ammunition, fire-arms lose half their value. So altogether, settlers in such a country might look for a very different resistance from that to be found in the islands, or even in Peru and Mexico.

It has been necessary to say as much as this about the various races of natives, for without having a clear idea of them we cannot understand the differences that there were between the various European Colonies.



CHAPTER II.

THE EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS IN AMERICA DURING THE
SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

The discovery of America (1)—Christopher Columbus (2)—Sebastian Cabot (3)—conquest of Mexico (4)—conquest of Peru (5)—Spaniards on the northern coast (6)—the French in Florida (7)—character of the Spanish conquests (8)—the early English voyagers (9)—raids on the Spanish colonies (10)—Gilbert's voyage (11)—Raleigh's first colony (12)—Raleigh's second colony (13)—prospects of English colonization (14).

I. **The Discovery of America.**—In studying the discovery of America and the first attempts at settlement there, two things must always be borne in mind. In the first place, it is really not at all easy to understand how enormous a difference the discovery of America made to the world. We are so familiar with the world as it is, that it is difficult to imagine it as it seemed to those who lived in the fifteenth century. We must remember that not only was America then undiscovered, but other large parts of the world, as we know it, were either actually unknown, or known only in a hazy and uncertain fashion. We must remember too that only a few specially learned and far-sighted men had any idea that there were other lands beyond those that they knew. So that the discovery of America was not like the exploration of a new country which is believed to exist, but of whose nature men are ignorant; it was, as it is often called, the discovery of a New World, of a world whose existence was never suspected by most men. And we can best understand how great a change this must have seemed

by looking at a map of the world as it really is and at one of the world as it was then supposed to be.

In the second place, we must remember that, like many things of which we are apt to speak as if they had been done at a single stroke, the discovery of America was really a very gradual process. Columbus himself, the first discoverer, possibly never knew that he had found a new Continent; and many years passed before men fully understood how America stood to the rest of the world. This ignorance of what lay beyond had a great deal to do with the adventurous spirit in which the men of that age went to America. For the further they went the more wonderful the New World became; and even when the bounds of it had been reached, there was nothing to tell them that there were not things more marvellous beyond.

2. **Christopher Columbus.**—Before the end of the fifteenth century, the only nations of Europe that had made much progress in seamanship were the Portuguese and the Italians. The Portuguese were the most enterprising voyagers, and had sailed along the coast of Africa and to the Canary Islands. But the Italians seem to have been the most scientific geographers and the most far-seeing about the unknown portions of the world. There does not however seem to have been much zeal about voyages of discovery in Italy itself, and all the great Italian navigators of that age made their discoveries in the ships of other countries. Of these navigators Christopher Columbus was the first and greatest. Whether he hoped by sailing to the west to discover a new continent, or only to get a direct route to Eastern Asia, it is hard to say. Whatever his scheme may have been, he had no small trouble to get the means for trying it. For after spending some eight years in seeking to persuade various sovereigns and great men to employ him in a voyage of discovery, he at last with great difficulty

got what he wanted from the sovereigns of Spain, Ferdinand and Isabella. On the 4th of August, 1492, he sailed with three ships, and on the 12th of October landed on the island which the Spaniards afterwards called Hispaniola and we now St. Domingo. He there founded a town and named it St. Salvador, and Spanish settlements soon spread over the island. But it was about twenty years before they extended to the neighbouring islands or the mainland.

3. **Sebastian Cabot.**—The next great discovery was made four years later, and is one of special interest to Englishmen. In 1497, Sebastian Cabot, a Genoese by descent, but born and bred in England, set sail from Bristol with a ship manned by Englishmen, and discovered Newfoundland and all the coast north of Florida. Thus, though Columbus discovered the islands, Cabot was the first European who is known for certain to have sailed to the mainland of America. On the strength of his voyage, England for a long while after put forward a special claim to the land to which he had sailed. In that age it was customary for such adventurers to obtain a patent from the sovereign of the country from which they sailed. This patent was a document giving various privileges, such as the right of importing merchandise free of duty, and often granting some authority over any land that might be discovered. Cabot had obtained such a patent before his first voyage, and on his return he procured a fresh one, and made a second voyage, of which no details are known. In 1501 three Bristol merchants and three Portuguese obtained a patent from the English king, and it seems likely that some voyages were made about this time, but nothing certain is known about them. In any case, it did not seem as if England was likely to take a leading part in the settlement of America—for at that time she was quite unfit for any great undertakings on the sea. She had no

large ships or skilful seamen, and, except a few boats that sailed north for fish from Bristol and other ports in the west, all her merchandise was carried in foreign vessels. And Henry VII., who then reigned, was a cautious and somewhat miserly king, and very unlikely to risk anything for an uncertain return. So, looking at all the nations of Europe, it seemed as if Spain alone was likely to do anything important in America. The Portuguese were taken up with their voyages to the coast of Africa, and the French seemed fully occupied at home. For though in 1504 Verrazani, another Italian navigator, was sent out by the king of France, Francis I., and made great discoveries on the American coast, yet France was too much taken up with her long and unsuccessful war with Spain for these discoveries to be followed further. Soon after that the country was torn to pieces with civil wars, and had no time for distant enterprises. Thus during the sixteenth century France had very little to do with the colonization of America. There were moreover many things in the character and temper of the Spaniards which specially fitted them for such a task. For many years they had been engaged in almost continuous war with the Moors, and this had given them a great love of adventure for its own sake, and a great desire for preaching Christianity to the heathen, and, if necessary, for forcing them to accept it. And it required some strong passions like these to make men face all the dangers which lay before them in the New World.

4. *Conquest of Mexico.*—For the first twenty years the Spaniards kept almost entirely to Hispaniola, and only a few unimportant settlements were made on the mainland or on the neighbouring islands, and most of them were not regular settlements, but only stations for pearl fishing. It was not till 1518 that any great attempt was made on the mainland. In that year, Velasquez, the governor of His-

paniola, sent out a small fleet to explore the mainland. As this fleet did not return so soon as he expected, he sent out a larger expedition, with about 550 Spaniards and 300 Indians. The command of this expedition was given to Hernando Cortez, a man of thirty-three, who had distinguished himself by courage and sagacity in an expedition on the mainland, but had never held any important office. Soon after he reached the mainland he got tidings of the great empire and city of Mexico. Hearing that the people were heathens and had much gold, he resolved to disregard his orders, and with his small force to march to the city and compel the people to become Christians and acknowledge the King of Spain as their lord. He made allies of the nations by the way, subduing some by arms and persuading others, and causing all of them to be baptized. But naturally these new-made allies were of no great value, and could not be trusted in time of need, and all that Cortez could really depend on were his 550 Spaniards. With these and some of the others he marched into the city of Mexico. There he established himself, and was at first received by the people as the friend of their emperor, and dwelt in one of the palaces, and before long forced the emperor himself to live there as a sort of state prisoner. The Mexicans soon resented this, and open war broke out. After various changes of fortune, and being once driven out of the city, in 1521 Cortez finally conquered Mexico. He had by that time received more than one reinforcement from home, but these only filled the places of those whom he had lost, so that at the last he had less than 600 Spaniards with whom to conquer the great empire. Such a force would have been utterly unequal to the task but for three things. They had horses and fire-arms, neither of which the natives had ever seen; and in Cortez himself they had one of the wisest and bravest captains that ever lived. To conquer

such an empire with such a force was a wonderful exploit, but there were many things which made it even more wonderful than it seems. For Cortez had no authority from the governor of Hispaniola for what he was doing, and was in constant dread of being recalled. One Narvaez was actually sent out with a fresh force to bring him back. But Cortez defeated Narvaez and joined this force to his own, and so turned what was meant for a hindrance into a help. Not only was his force small, but the men were such as he could hardly trust ; nor was there anything in the former deeds of Cortez to put his soldiers in awe of him or to give them confidence in his success. So little faith indeed had he in their loyalty, that he sunk his fleet to guard against any chance of their deserting him. The Tlascalans too, and the other native allies, were but an uncertain support, and apt to fail him when things went badly with him and he most needed their aid. But what was more wonderful still, and far more honourable to Cortez, was that he not only conquered Mexico, but having conquered it, ruled it well and protected the natives against the Spaniards. Not indeed that he, any more than the rest of his countrymen, was perfectly free from blame. In establishing his power he did things which we in this day should deem atrociously cruel. But these were all done in establishing Christianity and Spanish rule, things which Cortez firmly believed to be for the good of the Mexicans. They were not done, like many of the Spanish cruelties elsewhere, from lust of gold or in mere wantonness. Moreover, after the war had once begun, the Mexicans, unlike the natives elsewhere, provoked the Spaniards by acts of great ferocity. When we consider what it is to keep men in order who have just won a great victory and are all claiming their reward, and how completely the other Spanish conquerors failed in this matter, we see that Cortez was something far more than a great general. Through

his efforts the state of the natives was always far better in Mexico than in the other Spanish provinces.

5. **Conquest of Peru.**—Immediately after the conquest of Mexico the other great Spanish conquest took place, that which we may say gave Spain possession of South America. In 1512, one Vasco Nuñez, a man of great wisdom and courage, had set out from Darien, one of the earliest Spanish settlements on the east coast, and marched across the Isthmus of Panama, and had seen the Pacific ocean and heard of the rich lands beyond. But he quarrelled with the governor of Darien and was put to death as a traitor, and for the time nothing came of his discoveries. In 1525, Francis Pizarro, a kinsman of Cortez, who no doubt had the conquest of Mexico before his eyes as an example, undertook an expedition to the south. He sailed along the west coast and landed in the territory of Peru, and in about nine years completely overthrew the Peruvian empire. Though, as far as mere daring and skill in war go, Pizarro was little if at all behind Cortez, in other respects he was far inferior. For Cortez undertook a task the like of which no man had ever attempted, and he persuaded his men to follow him in what must have seemed a hopeless and almost a mad enterprise. But Pizarro throughout had the example of Cortez to encourage himself and his followers. Pizarro too was well befriended at home and provided with men and supplies, while Cortez had almost as much to fear from his countrymen behind him as from the enemy in front. After the conquest the real difference was yet more fully shown. For Cortez not only overthrew a great empire, but he succeeded in the harder task of establishing a fresh government in its place, and that among a people of whose history and character he knew but little. But Pizarro utterly failed in this respect. He was himself murdered by conspirators, and the settlers fought

amongst themselves, and rebelled against the governors that were sent out from Spain, and for a while Peru was utterly torn to pieces with conspiracies and civil wars, so that it was nearly twenty years before the country was brought into any kind of order.

6. **Spaniards on the Northern Coast.**—In the meantime, and after this, other discoveries and conquests were made by the Spaniards which in any other age would have seemed wonderful, but which were overshadowed by these two great exploits. Those we may pass over, taking the cases of Mexico and Peru as specimens of the Spanish conquests. One thing however must be noticed. Hitherto the islands had been the great centre of all activity and enterprise among the Spanish settlers. But now the islands became less important, and Mexico and Peru served as two fresh starting-points from which discoveries and conquest were made. This may have had some effect on the English settlements by preventing the Spaniards from occupying the land which we afterwards colonized. For men sailing from the islands would be far more likely to settle on the northern coast than if they made their way inland from Mexico. The attempts that were made in that direction did not meet with such success as to encourage further efforts. In 1512 one Ponce de Leon had explored Florida in search of a fountain whose water was supposed to give endless life. But instead of finding the fountain, he was killed in an affray with the natives. During the next thirty years the Spaniards made other expeditions into Florida, but they all ended unluckily, either through the hostility of the natives or the difficulties of the country. The fate of these adventurers leads one to think that Cortez and Pizarro might have fared very differently if they had tried their fortunes anywhere to the north of the Gulf of Mexico.

7. **The French in Florida.**—In 1562 the first attempt

was made by another European nation to follow the example of Spain. A number of French Protestants settled on the coast of Florida. Many of them were disorderly and lawless, and a party of these got possession of two ships without the leave of Laudonnière, the governor, and betook themselves to piracy. The colony was soon exposed to dangers from without as well as from within. The Spanish king Philip, a bigoted Roman Catholic, resolved not to suffer a Protestant colony to settle on the coast of America, and sent out one Melendez to destroy the French town and establish a Spanish one in its place. He obeyed his orders, fell upon the French and massacred nearly all of them, and founded a Spanish town, which he named St. Augustine. Two years later this massacre was avenged by a French captain, Dominic de Gourgues. At his own expense he fitted out a fleet and sailed to Florida. There he surprised the Spanish settlement, and put to death the greater part of the inhabitants. But this success was not followed up by the French, and Spain kept possession of the country. Dreadful as these doings were, England may be said in some measure to have gained by them. The massacre of the French settlers may have done something to withhold their countrymen from trying their fortunes in the New World, and so may have helped to keep the country open for English colonists. So too De Gourgues' expedition may have taught the Spaniards some caution in dealing with the settlements of other nations. After this St. Augustine continued to be the furthestmost point occupied by the Spaniards in that direction. Two voyages of discovery were made towards the north, but nothing came of them, and all the coast beyond Florida was left open to fresh settlers. The Spaniards were fully taken up with their exploits in the south, and had no leisure for exploring the country where there were no gold mines and no great empires or cities to be conquered.

8. **Character of the Spanish Conquests.**—Conquests like these could not be accomplished without great suffering to the natives. For though it was some time before the Spanish government openly and professedly allowed the Indians to be used as slaves, and though it never gave the settlers full liberty to do as they pleased with them, yet in most of the colonies the natives were from the very beginning completely at the mercy of the Spaniards. Ten years after the discovery of Hispaniola the natives began to decrease so in numbers that the settlers found it necessary to import slaves from other islands. For they were set to work in the mines and the fields in a manner for which they were wholly unfit. Without going through all the sufferings inflicted on them, we may form some idea of what they underwent from the fact that many killed themselves, as the only means of escaping their tormentors. But though the sufferings of the Indians were so great as fully to outweigh any good that was done by the conquest, we must not be too ready to blame the whole Spanish nation. For the men who went to the Spanish settlements were the very dregs, not only of Spain, but of almost every country in Europe, who flocked thither in quest of adventure and gain. And we must not think that this tyranny was any special wickedness peculiar to the Spaniards. For from none of the settlers did the natives suffer more than from a colony of Germans, to whom the King of Spain had given a grant of land in America. And there was at least one class of Spaniards who were not merely free from blame in this matter, but deserve the highest praise. For all that could be done to protect the natives and to bring their grievances before the government in Spain, and to improve their condition in every way, was done by the clergy. It is scarcely too much to say that no class of men ever suffered so much and toiled so unsparingly for the good of their fellow-creatures

as the Spanish priests and missionaries in America. The Spanish government too strove to protect the natives, and not wholly without success. But Spain was at that time completely taken up with European affairs, and had not leisure enough for a subject of such importance and difficulty. For there could not be a harder task than to restrain such men as the conquerors of Mexico and Peru. They were for the most part reckless men, and their success had increased their confidence, and everyone of them felt that Spain owed him a debt greater than she could ever pay, and most of them were ready to rebel at the least provocation. On various occasions the Spanish government sent out orders strictly forbidding the enslavement of the natives, but was obliged either to withdraw or relax this rule for fear of a rebellion among the settlers. Another great source of mischief was that one cruel or treacherous act would make the inhabitants of a whole district enemies to all strangers, and so introduce war, which was always the forerunner of slavery and oppression. Thus one unprincipled man could do an amount of evil which no wisdom or moderation afterwards could repair. What lay at the root of all this evil was the great rapidity with which the conquest was carried out. For there are few tasks which need more experience and forethought than the government of a newly-conquered country. Without a careful study of the people, and knowledge of their habits and ideas, such a task is a hopeless one. Yet here the Spaniards were suddenly called on to govern a vast country, whose very existence they had not dreamed of forty years before. This was due chiefly to the great riches of the natives, and to their weakness. For if Mexico and Peru had either had less wealth to tempt invaders, or if their spoils had been less easy to win, the conquest would in all probability have been far slower and more gradual. In that case the Spaniards would have been able to learn more about the people with whom

they were dealing, and would have had more sympathy with them. Then probably the conquest of Mexico would have been done bit by bit, like the English conquest of India, and although it might have been attended by much evil, it would have had many good results too, instead of being, as it was, almost an unmixed curse both to the conquerors and the conquered.

9. *The Early English Voyagers.*—While all these things were being done, it seemed as if England was not about to take any part in the settlement of the New World. Only one or two voyages had been made thither, and these had been so disastrous that there was very little encouragement to others to follow. In 1527 one Albert de Prado, a foreign priest living in England, sailed out with two ships. We know that the voyagers reached Newfoundland, since letters still exist sent home thence by them; but after that nothing more is known of them. In 1536 another expedition set out, commanded by one Hore, a gentleman of London. This voyage is somewhat remarkable, not for anything that was accomplished, but because it seems to have been the first of any importance that Englishmen undertook entirely without foreign help. Landing far north, they suffered great hardships, and were on the very point of killing and eating one of their own number, but were saved by the appearance of a Spanish ship well victualled. This they seized, and so returned to England. Such a voyage was not likely to encourage Englishmen to pursue adventure in America, and for some time we hear of no more attempts. But in the meantime a great deal was being done towards fitting England to play her part in the settlement of America. During the past eighty years trade had increased greatly, as is shown by the number of commercial treaties with foreign towns, and of corporations of English merchants in many of the great European cities, and foreign trade was almost sure

to bring the pursuit of navigation with it. Moreover, Henry VIII. did a great deal to further this. For though his misdeeds in other ways were very great, yet, when his passions did not lead him astray, he was a wise king, and one that sought the good of his country; and he clearly saw that the strength of England must lie in her ships. And all those great deeds that were done by Englishmen in the reign of his daughter Elizabeth, both on the seas and in distant lands, were in a great measure due to Henry's energy and foresight. For he not only built large ships, but he saw that ships, however good, would be useless without skilled seamen; and he founded three colleges on the model of one that already existed in Spain to train up pilots and sailors. Though this bore no great fruit in his life-time, the good of it was seen in the next generation; for in 1549, in the reign of Henry's son Edward, Sebastian Cabot, who, as we have seen, was the first great English navigator, was made Grand Pilot of England, and planned great enterprises. Our ships soon began to sail in every quarter, and England became as great on the sea as either Portugal or Spain. Voyages were made to Guinea to trade in gold and precious stones, and unhappily too in negro slaves. And great discoveries were made in the northern seas. For English ships sailed round the northern point of Norway and to Archangel, and Englishmen travelled by this way to the Russian court at Moscow, and even to Persia. But as yet nothing was done in the direction of America. When at last a voyage was made thither, it was rather by chance than by design. For, in 1576, Martin Frobisher, a west-country sea captain, sailed northward, thinking to find a passage to Asia round the northern coast of America. He did not, however, get further than that gulf to the north of Labrador called Frobisher Straits. But though he failed in his main object, he brought back what was more valued than even a passage to Asia would have

been. A stone which he had found was reported to contain gold. The stories of the Spanish conquest had set England, like all the rest of Europe, mad after gold; and immediately a company was formed to explore the supposed gold country. Frobisher was sent out again, and came back with a great cargo of what was believed to be ore. Queen Elizabeth then took up the scheme. A third and larger expedition was sent out in fifteen ships, and it was arranged that a hundred men should be left there to form a settlement. In the arrangements for this voyage a mistake was made, which was often repeated afterwards, and which was a serious hindrance to the success, not only of the English colonies, but those of other nations. It was thought that men who were unfit to live at home would do for colonists, and accordingly a number of condemned criminals were sent out. The expedition was an utter failure; the sailors almost mutinied; one of the ships with provisions for the colony deserted, and it was found hopeless to attempt a settlement. The fleet was loaded with ore, and sailed home. The ore proved worthless, and the whole attempt resulted in utter failure and disappointment to all concerned.

10. Raids on the Spanish Colonies.—By this time there was a fresh motive for English voyages to America. From the beginning of Elizabeth's reign many Englishmen of good family had sailed the seas as pirates, especially attacking Spanish ships. And as English seamen grew more skilful, they ventured to harass the Spanish settlements on the coast of America, and to cut off the Spanish fleets as they came and went. Though many of the greatest and bravest Englishmen of that day took part in these voyages, it is impossible to justify them. Yet there was this much to be said in excuse, that the Spanish Inquisition not unfrequently seized Englishmen on Spanish soil, and punished them for no crime but their religion. It must be remembered too

that the pope, who was the close ally of Spain, was ever hatching conspiracies against the Queen of England, and striving to stir up civil wars there, and it could hardly seem a crime to Englishmen to annoy and weaken Spain even by unlawful means. Thus there was much fighting between Englishmen and Spaniards on the seas, and on the American coast, though the countries were not avowedly at war.

II. Gilbert's Voyage.—In 1576, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, a west-country gentleman of great learning and wisdom, seems to have bethought him of a scheme for injuring Spain by planting an English settlement on the coast of America to serve as a sort of outpost from which to attack the Spanish fleets. It is not quite certain that Gilbert was the author of this scheme, but there is great likelihood of it; and it is certain that after this time he got a patent, granting him leave to form a colony in America. He does not seem however to have been as skilful in carrying out his designs as in planning them, and this expedition, though sent out at great cost, was a complete failure and he himself a heavy loser. Six years later he renewed his attempt; this time he was somewhat more successful. For though one of his ships deserted him at the very outset, he reached America, landed on the coast of Newfoundland, and took possession of the country in the Queen's name. He made no further attempt at a settlement, partly from the character of his men, who were lawless and disorderly, and thought only of getting on and making attempts at piracy. Before long another ship deserted and reduced the fleet to three, and of these one was wrecked with a load of ore thought to contain gold. Last of all, the smallest vessel, the *Squirrel*, of only ten tons, in which Gilbert himself sailed, went down, and one ship alone made its way back to England. Though Gilbert's attempt ended in utter failure, yet his name should ever be held in honour as the man who led the way in the English settlement of

America, and who forfeited his life in that cause from which his countrymen afterwards gained such honour and reward.

12. *Raleigh's first Colony.*—Gilbert's scheme was taken up by a man fitter for such a task. His half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh, was probably the greatest Englishman in an age unusually rich in great men. There certainly have been many better men, and there have been men too who were greater in one special way. But there scarcely ever has been anyone equally distinguished in so many different ways. Of the various careers open to a man in that day—learning, war, statesmanship, navigation—Raleigh pursued all, and excelled in all. As colonization was one of the great undertakings possible in that age, Raleigh entered upon that. There he showed his wisdom beyond all who had gone before him. Except perhaps the French settlers in Florida, no one there had thought of planting settlements save with an eye to gold and silver; for Gilbert's was hardly so much a regular settlement as an outpost against Spain. But Raleigh, though he probably had mines in view, yet took care to settle his colony where it might maintain itself by agriculture, and enrich both itself and England by manufacture and trade. In 1584 he obtained a patent in precisely the same terms as Gilbert's, and sent out two sea captains, Amidas and Barlow, to explore. They landed much further south than Gilbert, where climate and soil were both better. The natives received them with great kindness and hospitality, and two accompanied them back to England. Amidas and Barlow brought home a glowing account of the land they had found, and the Queen named it Virginia. Next year Raleigh sent out a hundred and eight settlers. Sir Richard Grenville, one of the greatest sea captains of the age, was in command of the fleet. But he was only to see them established, and then to leave them under the command of Ralph Lane, a soldier of some note. Heriot, a friend

of Raleigh, and a man of great scientific learning, was sent out to examine the country. The colony was established in an island called Roanoke, off what is now the coast of North Carolina. At the very outset a mishap occurred which afterwards did no small harm to the settlement. As Grenville was exploring the country, an Indian stole a silver cup from the English. In revenge Grenville, who seems to have been of a severe and somewhat cruel temper, burnt an Indian village. Up to this time the Indians had appeared friendly, but henceforth the settlers had to be on their guard. In August, Grenville sailed home, leaving Lane in full command. Instead of getting his settlement into good order and making arrangements for building houses, growing corn, and the like, Lane almost at once set off with a party in quest of mines. They suffered great hardships, and, after being driven by lack of food to eat their dogs, at length returned without having made any discovery. Lane on his return found his settlement in great danger. The Indians, emboldened by his absence, were plotting against the colony, and would have assailed them unawares, had not one more friendly than the rest disclosed the plot to Lane. Though not a very wise governor, Lane was a bold and able soldier. He at once fell upon the Indians, killing fifteen of them, and thereby prevented an attack. But though the settlers were saved from immediate danger, their prospects were very gloomy. They were suffering from lack of food; the Indians were no longer their friends, and they began to fear that Grenville, who was to have brought them supplies, would not return. While they were in these difficulties, an English fleet appeared on its way back from a raid on the Spanish coast. Drake, the commander of the fleet, fitted out a ship for the settlers with a hundred men and provisions for six months, but just as it was ready a storm arose, and it was driven out to sea. Another attempt was made to send a ship to their relief, but the harbourage was insufficient

and the attempt was given up. At last the settlers in despair resolved to embark in Drake's fleet, and by the end of July, 1586, they landed in Portsmouth. A few days after they had sailed, a ship reached Virginia, sent out by Raleigh with provisions. After searching in vain for the settlers, it returned to England. About a fortnight later, Grenville arrived with three ships well provisioned. Having spent some time in seeking for the settlement he landed fifteen men with supplies for two years, to keep possession of the country, and sailed home.

13. *Raleigh's second Colony.*—All these disappointments did not withhold Raleigh from another and more determined attempt. In 1587 he sent out a fresh party of settlers. One White was to be governor, with a council of twelve assistants, and the settlement was to be called the City of Raleigh. Hitherto the Indians had received the English in friendship, but now they attacked the settlers at their first landing, and killed one of the assistants. In August two noteworthy events occurred: Manteo, one of the natives who had returned with Amidas and Barlow, was christened; and the wife of Henry Dare bore a daughter, the first child of English parents born in the New World. Soon after this, White came to England to get supplies. Raleigh immediately fitted out a fleet under the command of Grenville. Before it could sail, tidings came that the Spanish Armada was ready to attack England, and every ship and sailor that we could put on the sea was needed. Nevertheless Raleigh contrived to send out White with two small vessels. But instead of relieving the colony, the crew betook themselves to piracy against the Spaniards, and, after sundry mishaps, returned to England without ever having reached Virginia. Raleigh had now spent 40,000*l.* on his Virginia colony, and had got absolutely nothing in return. Moreover, he had just got a large grant of land in Ireland, and needed all his

spare time and money for that. Accordingly in March 1589 he sold all his rights in the Virginia plantation to a company. At the same time he showed his interest in the colony by a gift of 100*l.* to be spent in the conversion of the natives. The new company was slow in sending out relief, and nothing was done till late in that year. White then sailed with three ships. This fleet repeated the same folly which had undone the last expedition, and went plundering among the Spanish islands. At last, after much delay, White reached Virginia. The settlers had left the spot where White had placed them, and as had been agreed, they had cut upon a tree the name of the place, Croatan, whither they had gone. There some traces of their goods were seen, but they themselves could not be found anywhere. Though Raleigh had no longer any share in the settlement, he did not cease to take an interest in it, and sent out at least two more expeditions, one as late as 1602, in the bare hope of recovering the colonists, or at least of getting some tidings of them. A vague rumour was afterwards heard that some of them had been taken prisoners by the Indians and kept as slaves, but nothing certain was ever known of them from the day that White left America in 1588.

14. Prospects of English Colonization.—Thus, by the end of the sixteenth century, Spain had on each coast of America a territory more than six thousand miles long, with large and beautiful cities, and yielding in gold and silver alone more than 60,000*l.* a year, while England had not so much as a single fishing-village. Yet the last fifty years had done much towards training Englishmen for the task of colonization. They had learnt familiarity with the sea and with distant lands, and they had discovered that the Spaniards were not, as they had once seemed, invincible. The men who had conquered the Armada, and had even plundered Spanish ships and towns on the American coast, felt that they could sur-

mount difficulties which had not baffled Cortez and Pizarro. Englishmen in the sixteenth century did not establish a single lasting settlement in America, but they did much toward showing how America might be explored and colonized by the next generation.

CHAPTER III.

VIRGINIA.

Need for colonization in England (1)—the Virginia company (2)—the first colony (3)—change in the company (4)—Dale as governor (5)—state of the colony (6)—Yeadley and Argall governors (7)—the massacre (8)—dissolution of the company (9)—the colony under Charles I. (10)—the Commonwealth (11)—the Restoration (12)—scattered mode of life (13)—Bacon's rebellion (14)—the Revolution (15).

I. Need for Colonization in England.—After the failure of White's expedition, no further attempt at settlement was made for eighteen years. Gradually however new causes arose to make colonization important. Hitherto distant settlements had been planned chiefly to enrich the mother country by mines and trade, or to molest the Spanish colonies. But now men began to see that the newly discovered lands might be valuable as a home for those who could find neither work nor means of livelihood in England. The beginning of the seventeenth century was a time when this need was specially felt. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries there had been great pestilences and famines, which had kept down the numbers of the people, and, except during special times of scarcity, there had been no lack of food. But during the sixteenth century

the population had increased greatly, and there was neither work nor wages enough for all. Two things especially had helped to cause this. Wool trade and sheep farming had greatly increased, and much land which was formerly tilled had been turned into pasture, and thus many labourers had been thrown out of work. Besides, the breaking up of religious houses by Henry VIII. had cut off another means whereby many were maintained. Thus the land was full of needy and idle men ready for any ill deed. In this strait men began to think of the rich and uninhabited lands beyond the sea as offering a home for those who could find none here. In one way, the prospects of colonization might seem changed for the worse. Elizabeth, who was now dead, had always looked on all distant adventures with favour, and honoured and encouraged those who undertook them. But her successor, James, was of a timid temper, and had no pleasure in such things, but rather distrusted them as likely to strengthen the free spirit of his subjects. Moreover, he was specially attached to Spain, and valued its friendship beyond that of any other country. And as the Spaniards always did their utmost to keep any other nation from settling in America, they would not fail to prejudice James against such attempts. One thing, however, helped to reconcile him to schemes for colonization. It was understood from the first that the colonies were entirely under the control of the King and Privy Council, and that Parliament had no power of interfering in their concerns. As might be expected with this difference in the temper of the sovereign, the spirit of the nation, or at least of the leading men in the nation, was somewhat changed too. There were no longer men like Frobisher, and Gilbert, and Grenville, who loved adventure for its own sake, and readily undertook long and costly voyages and risked great dangers, for distant and uncertain hopes of gain. In reality however this change

was favourable to colonization. For it was the love of adventure and the desire to achieve some brilliant success by discovering mines or unknown seas, or by piracy against the Spaniards, which caused the failure of all the early attempts. So that settlements made with soberer views, though they might not be undertaken so eagerly or promise such brilliant results, were more likely to enjoy lasting success.

2. *The Virginia Company.*—In 1602 and the three following years voyages of discovery were sent out. The coast of America to the north of Chesapeake Bay was explored, and a favourable report brought back. The failures of Gilbert and Raleigh showed that a colony was too great an undertaking for a single man to carry out successfully. The northern expeditions in the previous century sent out by the Russian Company had been more prosperous. Accordingly in 1606 a company was formed for the establishment of two settlements in America. The Northern colony was to be managed by gentlemen and merchants from the west of England; the Southern by Londoners. A charter was obtained from the King granting to each a tract on the coast at whatever spot it chose to settle, the Northern colony between 34 and 41 degrees of latitude, the Southern between 38 and 45. At the same time it was provided that the colonies were to be 100 miles apart. Each was to have a tract of 50 miles along the coast on each side of the settlement, and all islands within 100 miles of the coast; and no other English colony was to be founded on the mainland behind them without express permission. Each was to be governed by a President and Council of thirteen in America, while these were to be under the control of a Council in England. The members of these Councils and the two Presidents were to be appointed by the King. At the same time James drew up certain articles for the government of the colonies. All

criminal cases involving life and death were to be tried by a jury ; smaller offences by the President. The President and Council of each colony had power to make ordinances ; but these must agree with the laws of England, and were not to become law till approved of by the Sovereign or the Council at home. The Sovereign was also to issue such orders as from time to time should seem desirable. There was to be no private industry in the colony for the first five years, but the settlers were to bring all the fruit of their labour into a common store, whence food and other necessities would be provided in return.

3. *The first Colony.*—On New Year's Day, 1607, the Southern colony set out. Three ships sailed with one hundred and forty-three emigrants. By an ill-judged arrangement, the list of the Council was not to be opened till they landed. The Council was then to elect a Governor. Thus during the voyage there was no one with regular and settled authority. Among the colonists was one John Smith, an English yeoman by birth, who had spent his life as a soldier of fortune. Europe in that age swarmed with adventurers, but few of them had gone through so many strange chances as this man. He had served in the Low Countries ; he had been captured by Barbary pirates ; he had fought against the Turks in Hungary ; he was left for dead on the battle-field ; he then escaped from a Turkish prison into Russia, and at length returned to England. Such a man was likely enough to be of an unquiet temper, and before the fleet had been out six weeks he was confined on suspicion of mutiny. On the 26th of April the colonists landed in Chesapeake Bay and founded a settlement, which they called Jamestown. The Council then elected Wingfield to be President. He was a man of good birth and some military experience, but proud and self-willed, and indifferent to the friendship and esteem of those under him. Everything now went wrong. The

settlers themselves were idle and thriftless, and would not work as long as the supplies which they brought out lasted. Moreover, they found some earth which they fancied contained gold, and all their time was spent in working at this. The natives were friendly, but Newport, the captain of the ship, by his foolish liberality to the Indian king, Powhatan, made him hold the English goods cheap, and so prevented the settlers from buying corn as easily as they might have done. But for Smith's energy the colony could hardly have existed. He cruised about the coast and explored the country, either conciliating or overawing the natives, and getting abundant supplies of corn from them. As might have been expected, Smith and Wingfield soon quarrelled. We have only the accounts of this affair written by each of them, so it is hard to tell the rights of the case. Wingfield however himself admitted the great services done by Smith to the colony, and we find Smith long afterwards enjoying the favour and confidence of men connected with Virginia. The quarrel ended by Wingfield being deposed. Smith did not at once become President, but he was practically the head of the colony. For a short time things went on better. The settlers built twenty houses, sowed some ground, set up a regular factory for trade with the Indians, and made some tar and other merchandise. But soon they fell back into their old state. So badly off were they for food, that they were forced to break up into three bodies and settle in different parts. Some even ran off to the Indians and lived among them.

4. Change in the Company.—In spite of the evil tidings which came from the colony, and the disappointment of all their hopes of gain, the company in England were not discouraged. Hitherto they had only been a private association for trade, while all the government of the colony was in the hands of the King and the two Councils

appointed by him. But in 1608 the company obtained a charter from the King, forming them into a corporation, with a Treasurer and a Council to manage their affairs and those of the colony in Virginia. They were to make laws for the colony and to appoint officers. The company now included many of the greatest men of the age; amongst others, the philosopher Lord Bacon, and most of the great London trading companies held shares in it. The new company at once sent out an expedition on a larger scale than the last. Nine ships sailed with five hundred settlers, under the command of Sir Thomas Gates, an experienced soldier, who had distinguished himself in the Low Countries, and Sir George Somers, one of the bravest of the American adventurers in the days of Elizabeth. Lord Delaware was appointed Governor of the colony, and was to follow soon after. Unluckily, before the fleet reached Virginia, the ship in which Gates and Somers sailed got separated from the rest and was cast by a storm on the Bermuda Islands. Thus the new colonists arrived without any proper head. The state of the colony now was worse than ever. The new settlers were for the most part the very scum of the earth: men sent out to the New World because they were unfit to live in the Old. They were idle and mutinous, and utterly despised Smith's authority. West, Lord Delaware's brother, whose position might have given him some authority over them, fell sick, and to crown their misfortunes, Smith met with an accident which obliged him to return to England. The Indians did not actually attack them, but they were known to be plotting against the colony. While things were in this state, Gates and Somers arrived in a pinnace which they had built in the Bermudas with their own hands. The state of the colony seemed so desperate that they determined to break it up and return, with all the settlers, to England. It seemed as if this attempt would end, like Raleigh's, in

utter failure. But just as they were all embarked, Lord Delaware arrived with three ships well supplied. He at once resettled the colony, and forced the colonists to till the ground and fortify the settlement against the Indians. From this time the history of Virginia as a settled country may be considered to begin.

5. *Dale as Governor.*—Lord Delaware did not stay long in the colony, but left it under the government of Sir Thomas Dale, who, like Gates, had served as a soldier in the Netherlands. He was an able but a stern ruler. He enforced a code of laws copied in many points from the military laws of the Low Countries, so severe that it is wonderful how any community ever endured them. A few of the harshest will serve as specimens. A man was to be put to death for killing any cattle, even his own, without leave of the Governor; so was anyone who exported goods without leave. A baker who gave short weight was to lose his ears, and on the third offence to be put to death. A laundress who stole linen was to be flogged. Attendance at public worship was enforced by severe penalties. We must not forget however that most of the colonists were no better than criminals; indeed the colony had got so evil a name in England by its disorders and misadventures that few respectable men would go out.

6. *State of the Colony.*—The settlers were of various classes: all who subscribed 12*l.* 10*s.* to the company, or sent out a labourer at their own expense, got shares of land, at first a hundred acres, afterwards, as the colony improved, fifty acres each. These farmed their land either by their own labour or by hired servants, and formed the class afterwards called planters. But the greatest part of the land was in the hands, not of private persons, but of the company itself. This was cultivated by public servants who had been sent out at the company's expense, and who were in

great part maintained out of a public store, but were also allowed each a patch of ground of his own, upon which to support himself. Some of these public servants were employed in handicrafts and in producing commodities to send home. Moreover, men of special skill, public officers, clergymen, physicians, and the like, were maintained at the company's cost in return for their services. Under the government of Dale the condition of the colony improved. One important tribe of Indians, the Chickahominies, made a league with the settlers, and in return for some small presents of hatchets and red cloth, acknowledged themselves English subjects, and undertook to pay a yearly tribute of corn. The chief body of the Indians, under a great and powerful chief, Powhatan, were also closely allied with the English. In 1614, one Captain Argall, an unscrupulous man with influence in the company, by a knavish scheme with Japazaus, an Indian chief, kidnapped Pocahontas, the favourite daughter of Powhatan. During her captivity among the English she became converted to Christianity and married John Rolfe, a leading man among the settlers. Thus from the affair which seemed at one time likely to embroil the colony with the Indians came a friendship which lasted as long as Powhatan lived.

7. *Yeardley and Argall Governors.*—The next year Dale departed. The settlers showed that they needed his strong hand over them by falling at once into idleness and improvidence. The new Governor, Yeardley, was an upright man, just and humane in his dealings both with the settlers and the natives, but wanting in energy. One great source of mischief which Dale had hardly been able to keep in check was the excessive planting of tobacco. This crop was so profitable that the colonists gave all their time and ground to it, and neglected the needful cultivation of corn. Meanwhile the affairs of the company at home were mis-

managed. The treasurer, Sir Thomas Smith, was either negligent or dishonest. Emigrants were sent out utterly unprovided with necessities, and the supplies forwarded to the colonists were almost worthless. Under Yeardley's successor, Argall, matters were yet worse. He plundered both the company and the colonists in every way that he could. He took the stores, the servants, and the ships of the company for his own private profit and use. Under his rule the state of the colony became utterly wretched. Though more than a thousand persons had been sent thither, less than six hundred were left. At one place, Henrico, where there had been forty settlers, there was left but one house, and at Jamestown there were but ten or twelve. The condition of the private planters seems to have been better, and it was most likely this which encouraged the company to persevere and to make one more attempt to bring the colony to a prosperous condition. In 1618, a change was made in the company; Sir Thomas Smith was deposed from the treasurership, and in his place Sir Edwin Sandys appointed. He was an able and upright man, and a leading member of the party that was beginning to resist the arbitrary policy of the King in political and religious matters. Side by side with this a change of even greater and more lasting importance was made in the colony itself. Argall was deposed and Yeardley sent out in his place. His first act, no doubt by the wish of the company, was to form an independent legislature in Virginia. He called an Assembly almost exactly modelled after the English parliament. It consisted of the Council and a body of representatives, two from each of the eleven plantations into which the colony was divided. These representatives were elected by the freeholders. The Assembly so formed imposed taxes, considered petitions, and passed several laws for the management of the colony. From this time the Assembly met, if not every year, at least

at frequent intervals, and the Virginians, though nominally dependent on the King and the Company, had in most things an independent government of their own.

8. *The Massacre.*—Under the new system the colony grew and flourished ; vines were planted, and manufactories of iron and glass were set on foot. Guest-houses were built, in spots carefully chosen for healthfulness, for the emigrants when first they landed. The company exerted itself to supply the colony with clergymen and schoolmasters ; business so increased that it was necessary to have law courts in the different plantations. But the growing prosperity of the colony was soon cruelly checked. From various causes the settlers lived for the most part, not in villages, but in single houses, each with its own farm about it. This was due partly to the system which gave every shareholder a hundred acres of ground for each share, so that many of the planters owned large estates ; and partly too to the fact that the country was full of navigable rivers, so that travelling was very easy, and the inconvenience of separation little felt. The colony was thus more exposed to the Indians ; but that danger was little feared, since the relations between them and the settlers seemed thoroughly friendly. The Indians came and went among the English, and were allowed to go in and out of their houses as they pleased. Many benevolent schemes had been proposed for converting and training up the Indian children. Unluckily for the English, Powhatan, who had ever been their fast friend, died in 1618. His successor, Opechancanough, was for some time suspected of enmity to the settlers. Yet they do not seem to have been in the least on their guard against an attack. In 1622 an Indian chief murdered an English planter, in revenge for which he was killed by two of the planter's servants. This supplied Opechancanough with a pretext for stirring up his people against the settlers. Till the very

moment that they were ready for the attack the Indians kept up every appearance of friendship, and then suddenly fell upon the settlers and murdered every one they could. Had it not been that one converted Indian gave warning to the English, few would have escaped. As it was, about 250 perished. A few years before this would have been fatal, but the colony now numbered between 2,000 and 3,000. Public works were hindered, and the settlers were forced to abandon some of their outlying plantations and draw closer together, but the evil effects soon passed off.

9. *Dissolution of the Company.*—An event even more important than the massacre was at hand. The King, though he granted such ample powers to the company, seems always to have looked on it with some jealousy. This was due, in a great measure, to the intrigues of Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador. For the Spaniards naturally dreaded the growth of English colonies in the New World, lest they should become as dangerous to the Spanish colonies as England had been to Spain in the Old World. Hence there was perpetual intriguing against the company, and Gondomar, who, by bribing right and left, had gained great influence in England, did all he could against it. As the leading men in the company were of that party who chiefly opposed the King, James was easily persuaded that the company was a training school for a seditious parliament. Moreover, Sir Thomas Smith, who had been displaced from the office of treasurer, headed a disaffected party within the company, so that it was divided against itself, and got an ill name for squabbling and misconduct. Besides, the news of the massacre did much to make men think lightly of the colony and distrust its management. In the colony too there were disaffected and discontented people, who spoke evil of the company. But when the King sent out commissioners to inquire into the charges brought

against the company, all the serious accusations fell to the ground. Nevertheless, the overthrow of the company was determined on, and in 1623 they were summoned by an order of the Privy Council to surrender their charter, in order that the management of the colony might be handed over to a Council appointed by the King. The company at once refused to yield. Accordingly a writ was issued against the company, called a writ of *Quo warranto*, by which any corporation can be compelled to show good cause for its existence. At the same time they were deprived of the power of defending themselves by the seizure of all their papers. The details of the trial are not known, but the judges of that time were so subservient to the Court that any matter in which the King was known to take an interest was likely to be decided as he wished. Chief Justice Ley, who had to decide the case, gave it against the company. Thus the Virginia Company came to an end after a career of sixteen years.

Few corporations have in so short a time done so much good; for from the time that they were set free from the evil government of Sir Thomas Smith, they seem steadily to have sought the good of the colony rather than their own gain. Yet in all probability Virginia gained by their dissolution, for under the King the colony was left to itself, and learnt independence and self-reliance, as it hardly could have done under the company.

10. The Colony under Charles I.—The effect of the dissolution was to leave the colony entirely dependent on the King. In May, 1625, he issued a proclamation settling the condition of Virginia. It was to be governed by two Councils, one in England and the other in Virginia, both to be appointed by the King, and by a Governor also appointed by the King. The colonists had no charter, and no security of any kind against arbitrary government. Practically however things went on as before. The Assembly met every year,

and enacted measures, which were then sent to England and, if approved of by the King, became laws. The Governor and all the chief officials received fixed salaries, so that they were in no way dependent on the Assembly. In general matters the colony seems to have prospered under the new system. By 1629 the number of settlers had increased, in spite of the massacre, to more than four thousand. Timber and iron were exported, and there seemed a likelihood of vines being successfully cultivated. The damage done by the massacre was soon repaired and friendship with the Indians restored. In 1635, a dispute arose with the neighbouring colony, Maryland, recently settled by Lord Baltimore. Harvey, the Governor of Virginia, took part with Lord Baltimore against the Virginians. Enraged at this, the people rose against Harvey, arrested him, and sent him to England. He however defended himself successfully from the charges brought against him, and was restored. In 1639 proposals were set on foot in England for restoring the company, but these came to nothing, chiefly through the opposition offered by the colonists. They no doubt found that they enjoyed greater independence under the King, and feared that the restoration of the company would revive old claims to land, and thus cause confusion.

II. *The Commonwealth.*—When the civil war broke out in England, it seemed at first as if Virginia would be a stronghold of the Royalists. Berkeley, the successor of Harvey, was a staunch partisan of the King, and so were many of the chief inhabitants. During the supremacy of the Commonwealth the colonies were placed under the government of a special Commission, with the Earl of Warwick at its head. In October, 1649, nine months after the death of Charles I., the Virginian Assembly passed an Act making it high treason to speak disrespectfully of the late King, to defend his execution; or to question Charles II.'s

right to the crown. Nevertheless, as soon as a parliamentary fleet reached the colony, the Virginians at once surrendered. The parliamentary Commission granted moderate terms : the Governor and Council were allowed a year in which to dispose of their estates and leave the colony, and no one was to be punished for any act or word on behalf of the King. The supremacy of Parliament does not seem in any way to have altered the condition of the colony at the time. It had however one very important and lasting effect. Hitherto it had been an acknowledged principle of law that Parliament had no control over the colonies. In 1624 the House of Commons had attempted to interfere on behalf of the Virginia Company, but were forbidden by the King to proceed further in the matter. They murmured, but gave way. In 1628 they sent a petition to the King on behalf of the Bermudas. But in this they fully acknowledged that the entire government of the colonies ought to be in the hands of the King. But after the death of the King Parliament had in a great measure assumed his rights and power, and so the government of the colonies naturally passed over to them. Thus it became an established principle that Acts of Parliament were binding on the colonies in the same way as on the mother country, and after the Restoration this principle still remained in force. The chief enactment made by Parliament during the Commonwealth with reference to the colonies was that no goods should be carried to and from the colonies except in English or colonial ships. After the Restoration this was re-enacted, under the name of the Navigation Law. Its object was to confine the colonial trade to England and to encourage English shipping. Another Act was passed, three years later, prohibiting the importation of foreign goods to the colonies, unless they had been first landed in England. To make up for these restrictions, the planting of tobacco in England was forbidden, and thus

the colonists enjoyed a monopoly of the tobacco trade. The Navigation Law was not strictly enforced, and therefore did not press hardly on the colonies. Nevertheless, it established the principle that Acts of Parliament were binding on the colonies, although their inhabitants had no voice in electing Parliament, and very little power of making their wants known to it.

12. *The Restoration.*—The Restoration caused as little stir in Virginia as the overthrow of the monarchy had done. No attempt was made to resist it, and Berkeley was quietly reinstalled as Governor. The colony seems about this time to have reached its most prosperous state. The number of inhabitants had increased to forty thousand ; of these, two thousand were negro slaves. Besides these there were many English convicts, who were condemned to serve as slaves for a certain time. Most of these were prisoners who had been sentenced to death, but whose punishment had been changed by special favour to transportation. In spite of the existence of this class, the colony seems to have been very free from crime. Houses were left open at night, and clothes allowed to hang on hedges in safety. This was probably due to the comfort and plenty that prevailed. A single man could, by his own labour, raise two hundred and fifty bushels of Indian corn in a year. Cattle required no attention, but were turned out into the woods and throve there. The forests swarmed with game, and the rivers with fish. Ever since 1643 the relations with the Indians had been friendly ; in that year war had broken out. The Indians were easily subdued ; Opechancanough was captured and put to death, and a firm peace made with his successor. For nearly thirty years from that time the peace remained unbroken. During this period, various laws were passed for the protection of the Indians. Efforts were made to convert and to teach their children, and the English tried to civilize them by

offering them cows as a reward for killing wolves. The colonists were forbidden by law to enslave the Indians or to buy land from them. In 1660, two settlers, men of high position, were fined fifteen thousand pounds of tobacco each, and were disqualified from holding any office in the colony, because they had unlawfully kept an Indian as a prisoner. At the same time another settler was disqualified in the same way, for cheating the Indians of some land.

13. *Scattered Mode of Life.*—The worst evils from which the colony suffered were the want of towns and of education. The first of these was due to various causes: many of the settlers had been landed gentry, and had a taste for large estates and for a country life. In the time of the company, there was no difficulty about acquiring large estates, since every share of 12*l.* 10*s.* entitled the holder to fifty acres. After the dissolution of the company, the Government seems to have been careless in its grants of land, and many men acquired estates far larger than they could properly manage. The number of rivers, and the ease with which the settlers could transport themselves and their goods from one place to another, favoured this mode of life. The cultivation of tobacco and the use of slave labour also helped to bring this about. Slaves can seldom learn to cultivate more than one kind of crop; and as tobacco exhausts the soil, it was necessary to be always taking fresh land into cultivation, and leaving that which had been already tilled to recover. Thus each planter needed far more land than he would have done under a more thrifty system. Various attempts were made to establish towns, but they came to nothing; chiefly because everyone wanted to have the town within easy reach of his own plantation. Thus the Assembly, with whom the arrangement of these matters lay, could never fix on a site. The result of this want of towns was that there were neither schools nor printing

presses, and that the people grew up for the most part utterly untaught. Moreover, the clergy, from whom some kind of training might have been expected, were for the most part ignorant men and of low station.

14. *Bacon's Rebellion.*—About 1670 political discontent began to show itself. There were various causes for this: In 1655 a law had been passed restricting the right of voting at elections to landowners and householders, whereas before all freemen had voted. This law was repealed in the next year, on the ground that it was unfair that persons should pay taxes and yet have no votes. In 1670 the same law was again enacted. Besides this, the Governor had been gradually acquiring an undue share of power. It had been originally intended that the Council who were appointed by the King should be a check upon the Governor. But the King depended mainly for his information as to the state of the colony on the Governor. The result of this was that the appointment of the Council came to be made in reality by the Governor; and instead of being a check upon him, they were his supporters. The Clerk of the Assembly also found it to his interest to stand well with the Governor, and for this object kept him informed as to all the doings of the Assembly; so that it was impossible for them to contrive any plan of action against the Governor without his hearing of it. As all the important public officers were appointed by the Governor, the whole control of affairs had passed into his hands, and as Berkeley was a man of harsh and arbitrary temper, this caused much discontent. Two things besides increased this feeling. In 1669 Charles II. granted the whole domain of Virginia to Lord Culpepper and Lord Arlington for thirty-one years. The chief fear was lest the new proprietors should claim land as unappropriated which had already been granted to private persons. As the grant gave them the right of appointing public surveyors,

they were certain of a favourable decision in any question of disputed boundaries. The Assembly took fright at this, and sent over three agents to England to remonstrate against the grant. This agency was a cause of public expense, and so did something to increase the existing discontent. Moreover, Berkeley had recently enforced the laws against Nonconformists with severity, and many had been obliged to leave the colony, and probably many were left behind secretly disaffected. Thus everything was ready for a commotion, and it only needed some small event to set one on foot. In 1675 a quarrel broke out between the settlers and two tribes of Indians, the Susquehannahs and the Doegs. These Indians stole some pigs to revenge themselves on one Matthews, a planter, who, as they said, had cheated them. The thieves were pursued, and some of them killed. The Indians then killed Matthews, his son, and two of his servants. Upon this, some planters, without authority from the Governor, got together a force, and besieged one of the Indian forts. The Indians then sent six of their chiefs to make proposals for peace, but the settlers in their anger fell upon them and slew them. This enraged the Indians yet more, and an irregular warfare was carried on, in which three hundred of the English perished. The settlers then besought Berkeley to send out a force, but he refused. Thereupon one Bacon, a resolute and able man whom misfortune had made reckless, went against the Indians without any commission from Berkeley. Five hundred men at once joined him. Berkeley thereupon proclaimed them rebels, and sent troops to arrest them. This only made Bacon's followers more obstinate, and at the election that autumn he was chosen as a member of the Assembly. When he came to Jamestown to take his seat, Berkeley at first opposed his entrance and tried to arrest him. Nevertheless, in a short time they were seemingly reconciled. Possibly this was, as was afterwards thought, a

trick on Berkeley's part to get Bacon in his power. Various laws were then passed to remedy the abuses which had excited discontent. The right of voting was restored to all freemen, the fees of public offices were reduced, and Bacon was promised a commission against the Indians. But when the time came Berkeley refused to fulfil this promise. Thereupon Bacon left Jamestown, and in a few days returned with 500 followers. Berkeley now granted the commission, and Bacon marched against the Indians. News however soon reached him that Berkeley had raised a force and was coming to attack him. Bacon thereupon made his followers swear to be faithful to him, and, even if troops were sent against them from England, to resist till such time as their grievances could be laid before the King : he then marched against Berkeley, who fled. Bacon then burnt down Jamestown, lest his enemies should take shelter there, and pursued Berkeley. But before any engagement could take place Bacon fell sick and died. There was no one to take his place ; the rebel force fell to pieces, and was easily overcome. Berkeley used his victory mercilessly, putting rebels to death without due trial, and confiscating their estates before they were condemned. He was only stopped in these misdeeds by the arrival of three commissioners sent out by the King to inquire into the causes of the rebellion. Berkeley went to England, and died soon after, as was thought, of vexation. The rebellion was in one way a source of great loss to the colony. The agents who had been sent to England had just obtained from the King the promise of a charter, which amongst other privileges would have confined the right of levying taxes to the Assembly ; but in consequence of the rebellion this was withdrawn, and none of the grievances against which the agents protested were redressed. In one respect Bacon and his followers had been clearly blameworthy : in their undistinguishing rage against the Indians,

they had attacked a friendly tribe, and had driven their queen, who had been a faithful ally to the English, to flee into the woods at the risk of her life. Nevertheless, soon after Berkeley's departure a firm peace was made with all the Indians, and their relations with the settlers were thenceforth friendly.

15. *The Revolution.*—Two Governors who came soon after, Lord Culpepper and Lord Effingham, governed the colony worse than any that had gone before them. Lord Culpepper came out in 1680; he persuaded the Assembly to raise his salary from 1,000*l.* to 2,000*l.* It had been a custom for the captains of ships to make certain presents to the Governor: Culpepper changed these into fixed dues. In 1683 he left the colony. His successor, Lord Effingham, created new and unnecessary offices, and devised pretexts for exacting additional fees. Both of these Governors claimed and exercised the right of repealing laws passed in the Assembly, by their own proclamation. The English Revolution of 1688, though it introduced no change into the constitution of Virginia, seems to have stopped, or at least greatly lessened, these evils. One new abuse however came in. Hitherto, the Governor had always lived in Virginia; now it became the custom for him to be represented by a deputy in the colony. From 1704 to 1740 the Earl of Orkney was nominally Governor, but during that long time he was represented by a deputy, who received 800*l.* a year out of the Governor's salary. Thus the colony was taxed 1,200*l.* a year for the maintenance of the Governor, whom they never saw. The English Government excused this on the ground that it would be of great service to the colony to have some man of high position in England to look after their interest: but as Lord Orkney was nearly the whole of the time away on foreign service, it can hardly be thought that he was of much use to the colony. The most important

change introduced by the Revolution was the establishment of a college, called the College of William and Mary. Large subscriptions for this purpose were given by the colonists, as well as by Virginian merchants and other persons in England. Professorships were established, and a handsome building erected, after plans by Sir Christopher Wren.

CHAPTER IV.

PLYMOUTH.

The first Puritan settlers (1)—constitution (2)—early history (3)—colony independent (4)—townships (5)—system of government (6).

I. The first Puritan Settlers. — The Virginia Company originally consisted, as we have seen, of two branches, one the South Virginia Company at London, the other the North Virginia Company at Plymouth. In 1607 the latter sent out forty-five settlers, who established themselves at the mouth of the river Kennebec. This attempt came to nothing. The winter was unusually cold ; Popham, their leader, died, and the colony broke up. This failure kept Englishmen from making any attempt at settlement in that quarter for some years. Fishing voyages were made ; and Smith, after his return from Virginia, explored the coast, gave it the name of New England, and did his best to persuade rich men in England to plant a colony there. Besides, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who had taken a leading part in fitting out the expedition of 1606, had several times sent out ships to explore the coast. But for fourteen years after

Popham's failure no settlement was made. One reason possibly was, that the Virginia Company took off all who had money and energy to spend on such enterprises. The colonization of Virginia was, as we have already seen, brought about by the pressure of poverty and the lack of food and employment in England. The colonization of New England was due to a totally different cause, namely, the ill-treatment which a particular sect received from the English Government. During the reign of Elizabeth the English Protestants were divided into two parties. There were those who thought that the Reformation had gone far enough, or even too far, and who wished to keep as much as possible, and in some cases even to restore, something of the ritual and teaching of the Romish Church. There were others who wanted to go much further than the English Church had yet gone, and to abolish many things which reminded them of the old connexion with Rome. This party was itself again divided into various bodies. There were those who wished to maintain the system of Church-government by bishops, and only to change some of the forms of worship. Others wanted to introduce the Presbyterian system, that of government by elders, as established in Switzerland and France by Calvin and his followers, and in Scotland by John Knox. A third party, small and insignificant during the reign of Elizabeth, wished to introduce the Independent system which existed in some parts of Germany. Under this system each congregation was a separate body, having full control over its own religious affairs. Neither of these last named parties, the Presbyterian or the Independent, obtained much importance under Elizabeth. But as James I. and Charles I., and the leading men among the bishops in their reigns, showed no readiness to yield anything to the reforming party in the Church, many of those who had hitherto been in favour of keeping the existing

Church-government, gradually went over to the Presbyterians or Independents. During the reign of Elizabeth several severe measures were passed against the Independents, prohibiting them from holding religious meetings. Under James, yet harsher measures were enacted. The result was to drive many of them to Holland, where full toleration was granted to all sects. Among these refugees was an Independent congregation from Scrooby, a village in Nottinghamshire. They fled in a body in 1608, under the guidance of their minister, Robinson, one of the best and wisest of the English Independents, and established themselves at Leyden. There they sojourned for more than ten years, and were joined by many of their friends from England, so that they grew to be a great congregation. But though they prospered, they were not altogether satisfied with their abode in Holland. Their children were exposed to the temptations of a great city, and doubtless many longed for the quiet country life in which they had been bred. At length they bethought them of forming a settlement in America, to be a refuge from the temptations of the world, and perhaps the means of conveying Christianity to the heathen. They decided to settle, if they were allowed, as a separate community, on the lands of the Virginia Company. With this view they sent over to England two deputies to get a grant of land from the company and a charter from the King. The land was granted, but the charter was refused. The King however gave a general promise that, if they behaved peaceably, they should not be molested. At first they had some doubt about settling without a charter, but one of their leaders remarked, that "if there should be a purpose or desire to wrong them, though they had a seal as broad as the house floor, it would not serve the turn, for there would be means enough found to recall it or reverse it." On the 5th of September, 1620, a hundred and twenty of them,

having crossed over from Leyden, set sail from Southampton in two vessels, the *Speedwell* and the *Mayflower*. At first everything seemed against them; before they had gone far, the *Speedwell* sprang a leak, and was obliged to return for repairs. On the next attempt, when they were three hundred miles from land, the *Speedwell* was found to be overmasted, and unfit for the voyage. They decided to divide into two companies, one of which should return, and the other proceed in the *Mayflower*. On the 9th of November they sighted land. This proved to be Cape Cod, a promontory some 130 miles north of the spot where they wished to settle; they then directed the Master of the ship to sail south. This however he professed himself unable to do, and landed them inside the bay formed by Cape Cod and the mainland. They believed that he had been bribed by the Dutch, who traded with the Indians about the mouth of the river Hudson, and who did not wish to have any rivals there. As it turned out, the coast within the bay was a fitter spot for a weak colony. The Indians had a few years before captured the crew of a French vessel, and cruelly put them to death. One of the French had warned them that their crime would not go unpunished. Shortly after, a great plague fell upon them and swept off whole villages. This had a twofold effect: it weakened the Indians, and left much of their country desolate and empty for the new comers, and it made the savages believe that the God of the white men would punish any wrong done to them. But for this protection, a weak colony could hardly have escaped destruction by the Indians. In other respects too the spot was well suited for a settlement: the soil was fairly fertile, there was good harbourage for ships, and the climate, though severe in winter, was healthy. In fact it was, like England, a country less attractive and less rich in its resources than southern lands, but more

fitted to call out energy and activity, and so to breed hardy and industrious citizens.

2. *Constitution.*—The first act of the settlers on landing was to constitute themselves a body politic, with power to make laws and ordinances for the management of their joint affairs. They then looked out for a suitable spot for a permanent settlement. They decided on a place with a harbour, cornfields, and running water, on the west side of the bay. There, on the 16th of December, they landed, calling the place "Plymouth," after the last English town they had left. As they had settled beyond the limits of the Virginia Company, their patent was useless; the land which they occupied was however in the possession of another company. Gorges and other leading men had, in 1620, obtained a charter from the King for the land which was to have been occupied by the North Virginia Company. This was, in fact, a revival of that company, and as the new company, like the old one, numbered among its members many west-countrymen, it was called the Plymouth Company. But it must be remembered that this Plymouth Company and Plymouth the Puritan Colony were two distinct bodies, and that neither in any way took its name from the other. In 1621 the colony obtained a patent from the company. This was not granted directly to the settlers themselves, but to a body of London merchants. These men formed a sort of smaller corporation under the Plymouth Company. They fitted out the colonists, and took the expense of sending them out. The shares were allotted to the colonists themselves, and to those who contributed money—one share to each emigrant, and one for every 10% invested. The colonists were to be provided with food and all other necessities from the common stock. The profits were to accumulate, and, at the end of seven years, to be divided among all the shareholders. These

merchants seem to have gone into the matter merely as a question of profit, and to have had no special sympathy with the Puritans, and accordingly they dealt somewhat harshly with the colonists.

3. *Early History.*—For the first few years the climate bore hardly on the settlers, and the history of the colony is little more than one long story of suffering and endurance. The first winter the cold was so severe that out of a hundred settlers about half died, and of the rest all but six or seven were at one time ill. Slighter hardships had broken up the Virginia settlements under Lane and Somers. But the men of Plymouth were more enduring, and held on; the friendship of the Indians was of great service to them. The first meeting, a few days after the settlers landed, was hostile, and the English had to use their guns in self-defence. But soon after they met with a savage who could speak English, and they soon made friends with Mossasoit, the chief sachem in those parts. With him they made a firm league; two years later his life was saved by the medical skill of the English, and he was ever after their fast friend. The only show of enmity on the part of the Indians was made by a chief named Canonicus. He sent the English the skin of a snake full of arrows, as a sort of challenge. Bradford, the governor of Plymouth, stuffed the skin with powder and ball, and sent it back. The Indians seem to have taken the warning, and made no attack. After this, the settlers of Plymouth lived for many years at peace with their savage neighbours. One exception there was indeed, but that was due entirely to the misconduct of other English settlers. In 1622 one Weston obtained a patent from the Plymouth Company, and settled sixty men in Massachusetts some thirty or forty miles north of Plymouth. They proved idle and disorderly, and instead of working, plundered the Indians, and so endangered the peace between them and the

Plymouth settlers. Some trifling hostilities broke out and a few Indians were killed, but peace was soon restored. Weston's colony, in less than two years from its foundation, broke up, greatly oppressed by famine, but partly from dread of the Indians. Somewhat later, one Captain Wollaston set up a plantation near the site of Weston's. This too failed, and Wollaston, with most of his men, departed to Virginia. The rest stayed under the leadership of one Morton, a dissolute and riotous man. He sold arms and ammunition to the Indians, and by this and other misdeeds became so dangerous to the men of Plymouth that they at length arrested him and sent him home. At a later day, as we shall see, he returned to America, repeated his offences, and was again banished.

4. Colony independent of the Company.—Partly, perhaps, through these hindrances, the colony for a while did not prosper. For the first five years the settlers had no cattle, and when their corn was spent, they had often to live wholly on shell-fish. At the end of four years the settlement numbered only a hundred and eighty persons, dwelling in thirty-two houses, and the shareholders at home grumbled at the small profits. In 1627 a change was made, greatly for the good of the colony; the settlers themselves bought up the whole stock of the company, paying for it by instalments; they had to raise the money at high interest. Nevertheless, the knowledge that they were working for their own profit so quickened their industry, that in six years from that time they had paid off all their debts and had become the independent owners of their own land, houses, and live stock. One important result of this was the rapid increase of numbers. Hitherto the new comers were only such men as the shareholders thought likely to make good colonists and were willing to send out. Now it was free to the settlers to choose their own associates, and accordingly many of the English

Puritans joined them. By 1643 the colony numbered three thousand inhabitants, divided among eight towns. Moreover, the members of the Plymouth Company sent out fishing and exploring expeditions, and formed trading stations along the coast, and these opened fresh markets for the produce of Plymouth.

5. Townships.—The process by which Plymouth grew was quite different from that which we have seen in Virginia. The settlers did not spread over a wide surface of country, living in solitary plantations, but formed townships. As their numbers increased and outgrew the original settlements, they moved off in bodies, each occupying an allotted portion of ground, of which a part was held in common. Thus there were no great estates, as in Virginia, and all the towns, or as we should rather call them, villages, were within easy reach of one another. For some while they did not extend inland, but only along the coast, so that of the eight townships first formed seven were by the sea. There were various causes for this difference between Virginia and Plymouth. One was that the Puritans made it a great point to worship frequently together, and so could not bear to be widely scattered. Another was that the Plymouth settlers were not, like many of the Virginians, taken from the landed gentry, and so they had no special taste for large landed estates, even if they could have got them. Moreover, at that time, among the English yeomen and cottagers much of the land was still held and farmed in common by villages, so that the system of townships fell in with the home usages of the colonists. Moreover, there was no such means of passing from one part of the country to another and of carrying goods as was afforded by the rivers in Virginia, and the fear of the Indians served to keep the settlers together. It is very important to bear all this in mind, since it was the leading point of difference, not only between Virginia and Plymouth,

but between the southern and northern colonies. The former for the most part consisted of scattered plantations, the latter of closely connected townships.

6. *System of Government.*—The government of Plymouth consisted of a Governor, a body of Assistants, and an Assembly. The Governor and Assistants were elected by the whole body of freemen. The Assembly was at first what is called primary, that is to say, it consisted of the whole body of freemen meeting themselves, not sending their representatives. The first freemen were the original settlers, afterwards those who in each town were admitted by the body of freemen already existing. As may be easily supposed, when the number of townships increased, it was found inconvenient for the whole body of freemen to meet together for public business. Accordingly in 1638 the system of representation, the same by which the English House of Commons is formed, was introduced. Every township sent two representatives, and the body so returned was, with the Governor and Assistants, the General Court. The primary Assembly of all the freemen still kept its power of enacting laws, but this gradually fell into disuse, and the whole government passed over to the General Court. Thus we see that in the two earliest American colonies, the government was modelled on that of England. But there was this important difference between the two: in Virginia the system of government was originally copied from the English constitution; while in Plymouth it was at first quite different, and became like it only by gradually fitting itself to the wants of the people. This change is of special importance, since it shows the way in which, in many free communities in different parts of the world, a representative assembly has taken the place of a primary one. But in most cases this change has taken place in such early times, that our knowledge of it is vague and imperfect.

The American colonies furnish almost the only instance in which we can trace the whole process. After this change the Governor and Assistants were still elected by the whole body of freemen. The Assistants sat as judges in criminal and civil cases, with a jury of freemen, and generally managed public business. So little ambition was there in the state, and so small was the profit and honour attached to the public offices, that a law was passed imposing a fine on anyone who refused the place of Governor or Assistant when elected. For the first sixteen years the colony lived under the laws of England. In 1636 a special committee was appointed to help the Governor and Assistants in drawing up a code of laws. These laws were simple in their character, not copied from the laws of England, but suited to the wants of a small community living in a plain manner. Cases too trifling to come before the Assistants were tried by magistrates in the different townships.

CHAPTER V.

MASSACHUSETTS AND CONNECTICUT.

First settlement of Massachusetts (1)—changes in constitution (2)—laws and manners (3)—religious troubles (4)—danger from the English government (5)—the charter threatened (6)—settlement of Connecticut (7)—constitution (8)—other settlers in Connecticut (9)—the Pequot war (10).

I. First Settlement of Massachusetts.—When the North Virginia Company was renewed under the name of the Plymouth Company, many important men belonged to it,

and some of the members, such as Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Captain John Mason, took a great interest in its prosperity. Yet it was far inferior in its results to the Virginia Company. No successful settlements were made at the expense of the company, nor does it seem to have done much in the way of trade. The chief thing done was to sell or let large tracts of land to private persons, many of them members of the company, which they might occupy if they chose. This hindered rather than furthered colonization. For the leading men of the company knew so little of the country that they often carelessly disposed of the same tract of land twice over, and this gave rise to much confusion in later times. Thus for some years after the settlement of Plymouth very little else was done in that quarter. We have already seen what became of two settlements, those under Weston and Wollaston. Another attempt was made in 1623. In that year, Robert Gorges, a son of Sir Ferdinando, was sent out to plant a colony at Wessagusset, where Weston had already failed. But though he went out with a commission from the company as Governor-General of New England, he did nothing worth speaking of, and only left a few scattered settlers. Some of the members of the company too had regular establishments for fishing and trading in furs, managed by hired servants, and a good many vessels fished along the Massachusetts bay. Besides this, a few stray emigrants seem to have settled themselves alone, but not to have formed any villages. Some of these traders and fishermen did much harm by selling guns to the natives, and this, together with the Virginia massacre, led the King to publish a proclamation forbidding anyone to sell arms or ammunition to the savages in America. Before long the success of the Plymouth colonists led others to follow in their footsteps. About 1627 some of the leaders among the

Puritan party, men of much greater wealth and education than the founders of Plymouth, bethought them of forming a second Puritan colony in America. Already some of these men had a fishing station on the coast about sixty miles from Plymouth, which was to serve as a sort of foundation for their colony. In 1628 they got a tract of land, about sixty miles along the coast, granted them by the Plymouth Company, and sent out a party of sixty men to occupy it. So far the founders of the settlement were only a private trading company; but in the spring of 1629 they took an important step,—they increased their number, and obtained a charter from the King making them into a corporation, called the Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England. This company had nothing to do with the Plymouth Company, beyond having bought a tract of land from it. In its character and objects it was not unlike the Virginia Company. Its affairs were managed by a Governor, a Deputy-Governor, and eighteen Assistants. All these officers were elected by the whole company once a year. The whole body of members had the power of making laws for the settlers in their territory so long as these did not interfere with the laws of England. The company immediately appointed a Council of thirteen to manage their affairs in the colony, and sent out six ships with three hundred men and eighty women. Next year a very important change was made. The charter said nothing as to the place at which the meetings of the company were to be held. Accordingly the members resolved to carry the charter over to America, and to hold their meetings there. In this way they would be less under the eye of the English Government, and better able to make such religious and political changes as might please them. If the company had been really like the Virginia Company, a trading corporation, this change would have been inconvenient. But from the outset the

formation of a Puritan colony was looked on as their chief object. Rules were made about the joint trade of the company, but these soon passed out of sight. The company seems never to have divided any profits in money, and the only return which the subscribers received for the money they had put in was the land allotted to them in America. The real object of the company was something very different from trade. It was to found a separate State, independent of England, and differing from it in many leading points. This attempt was even more remarkable than the undertakings of the Virginia and Plymouth colonists. The Virginia Company made their settlement with the intention that it should be closely connected with England, and though it became in many ways independent, yet it did so gradually, and rather by chance than of set purpose. Plymouth was indeed quite as independent as Massachusetts. But then, Plymouth was in every way a much less important place. The men who founded it were poor and unlearned, and could be hardly said to have taken up the enterprise of their own free will, but were rather forced into it by the ill-treatment they met with in England. The founders of Massachusetts were in a very different position. We have seen that among those who wished to carry the Protestant Reformation further than it had yet gone there were different parties. There were those who condemned the Church of England altogether, and wished instead to have Independent, or, as they may be called, Congregational churches. The founders of Plymouth belonged to this party. The party to which the founders of Massachusetts belonged also wished to remove many usages which seemed to them too much like those of the Romish Church. But they sought to do so, not by leaving the English Church and setting up a new system, but by altering the practices of the Church itself. Most of those Puritans who

were in Parliament and took an active part in public affairs were of this latter party. At this particular time those men were just as much opposed to the system of political government in England as to the practices of the Church ; for the King was beginning to set Parliament at naught, and to govern by his own will. He levied taxes without the consent of the House of Commons, and imprisoned those who would not pay : in short, he was entering upon that system of government which led to the Great Rebellion. In founding the colony of Massachusetts, the Puritans were securing a refuge where they might be safe from this arbitrary government, and might manage things according to their own political principles. This, coupled with the greater wealth and higher birth of the first colonists, made the settlement of Massachusetts a much more important event than that of Plymouth ; for the founders of Massachusetts were for the most part rich men, some country squires and some merchants, and several were kinsfolk to the greatest men of the day. Many of those who furthered it, though not of those who actually went out, were members of parliament, who afterwards took a leading part in English affairs ; and some of the actual settlers seem to have been in nowise inferior to them in wisdom and energy, and doubtless would have made great names for themselves if they had stayed in England. So that, by looking at the colony of Massachusetts, we can see what sort of a commonwealth was constructed by the best men of the Puritan party, and, to some extent, what they would have made the government of England if they could have had their way unchecked. The first Governor, John Winthrop, was a country gentleman of a good estate in Suffolk, forty-two years of age. Eaton, one of the Assistants, had been the English minister at the court of Denmark. To such men as these it must have been no small sacrifice to leave

England and their houses and estates, and to settle in a wilderness. In this Massachusetts differed from Virginia: for though Lord Delaware and Gates and Dale had gone out to the colony, yet they only went for a while to set things in order, with no intention of staying; but in Massachusetts men of great ability and distinction went out at the very first as regular settlers. This we may be sure they would never have done without the hope of enjoying such political and religious freedom as was not to be had in England.

In the summer of 1630 Winthrop went out with a thousand emigrants. Like the early settlers in Virginia and Plymouth, they suffered grievous hardships. In the winter before nearly eighty of the colonists had died, and of course, as their numbers increased, food was scarcer and their plight became worse. Moreover, the cold weather came on before they had time to settle and build houses, and many died. By ill luck it was a time of dearth in England, and very little corn was sent over, and that at great prices. One result of this was that the settlers, in their attempts to find food, spread abroad, and instead of all forming one town, as was originally intended, they formed eight small settlements.

2. *Changes in Constitution.*—One of the most interesting and remarkable things in the early history of Massachusetts is the series of changes in its system of government. After a few years it had, like Virginia and Plymouth, a government which was a sort of miniature of the English system, and consisted of a Governor, a Council of Assistants, and a body of Representatives, two from each settlement. In the process by which this came about Massachusetts resembled, not Virginia, but Plymouth. The arrangement was not made once for all, but grew gradually by various changes which were made as they became necessary. Originally all important matters were managed by the whole body of the freemen at their meetings four

times in the year. The number of freemen however increased so fast that the system became inconvenient, and in October, 1630, the right of making laws and of electing the Governor and Deputy-Governor was given over to the Assistants. Very soon it was found difficult to get together seven Assistants, which was the number required to form a meeting. Accordingly the Assistants enacted that, if less than nine of them should be in the colony, the majority should be enough to form a meeting. This change placed the authority in the hands of a very small body. In May, 1631, the manner of electing Assistants was altered ; the Assistants, instead of being elected afresh every year, remained in office until they were specially removed by a vote of the freemen. After these two measures, the management of affairs was likely to fall into the hands of a very small body of men, who could not easily be deprived of their office. In the spring of 1631 the inhabitants of Watertown, one of the eight settlements, refused to pay a tax levied by the Assistants. When the General Court of all the freemen met in May, it was decided that two men should be sent from each settlement to decide the question of taxation. Two points should be noticed : 1, The principle for which the men of Watertown had contended, that they should not be taxed without their own consent, was admitted ; 2, The freemen, instead of acting directly in the matter, found it more convenient to send deputies to speak for them. For the present these deputies had no power of law making, but only advised the Assistants about taxation. At the same time the freemen claimed and were allowed the right of electing the Governor and Assistants each year. Two years later a very important change was made. The freemen, finding that to attend the meetings was too great an interruption to their business, reserved to themselves only the power of electing the Governor and Deputy-Governor, and made over all their

other powers to their deputies. These Deputies, together with the Governor and Assistants, formed the General Court. In the year 1634 the election of Governor was by secret voting, and, for the first time, Winthrop was not elected. Soon after, when seven men were appointed to settle the division of town lands, Winthrop and several of the chief men were left out, and poorer men chosen, from an idea that otherwise the lower class of settlers would not get their fair share. In this same year a proposal was made which, if carried, would have completely changed the character of the colony. Certain Puritans of the upper classes, including Lord Brook and Lord Say and Sele, who were both members of the Plymouth Company and took a great interest in colonization, proposed to come over. They required however that two orders should be established in the colony, gentlemen and freeholders. The rank of the first was to be hereditary, and the Governor was always to be chosen from it. The second order, the freeholders, was to consist of those who had a certain amount of property, while all below that were to be shut out from all political power. Such a system would have robbed many of the freemen of the very liberty in hopes of which they came over. If the proposal had been made earlier, before the freemen had strengthened themselves by naming representatives, it might have been entertained, but as it was it met with no favour. Two years later an attempt was made to establish a Permanent Council. Its members were to hold office for life, and could only be removed for some serious cause. Some councillors were elected, but nothing further was ever done, and the scheme fell to the ground.

Up to 1644 the Deputies sat together with the Assistants, but in that year they sat apart, like the English House of Commons. The manner in which this came about is a good illustration of the simple life of the colony, and

shows how the Government had to manage all matters, great and small, and how the two were in a great measure mixed up. A lawsuit about a stolen pig came before the General Court. The parties to the suit were a poor widow and one Captain Keayne, a rich man, who was thought hard to the poor, and so was unpopular. Seven Assistants and eight Deputies were on Keayne's side; two Assistants and fifteen Deputies were against him. The Assistants were looked on as the champions of the rich; the Deputies, of the poor; and thus a bitter feeling sprang up. A long dispute followed, and in the end the power of the Deputies was increased by their being allowed to sit as a separate body. After that the constitution of Massachusetts underwent no important change for forty years.

3. *Laws and Manners.*—All this while, though Massachusetts was in so many ways independent, and had so little connexion with the home Government, yet it preferred to be governed by the laws of England; that is to say, the law of England was the only law which held good in Massachusetts, except when anything different was specially enacted by the Court. But, in 1636, the people who, as we have seen, were somewhat jealous of the leading men, demanded a code of laws, feeling that they would be more secure if they were governed by fixed statutes than by enactments made from time to time by the Court. On the other hand, Winthrop and some of the principal men felt that the Government in England might resent the enactment of a regular code of laws, as if the settlers thereby claimed to be independent of the mother country. The people however were determined to have a code, and at length got their way. A committee was appointed to draw one up, and, though there was much delay, in 1641 a complete set of laws was enacted under the name of the *Body of Liberties*. This code was modelled

seemed as if a civil war was at hand. Henry Vane, who had been Governor for the past year, was a young man of good family and education, and afterwards took a leading part among the statesmen of the English Commonwealth. He was however but a new comer in Massachusetts, and most likely the old settlers, Winthrop and his friends, looked on his youth and inexperience with some suspicion. Though Vane was not exactly one of Mrs. Hutchinson's party, he regarded her with more favour than most of the chief men did, and seems to have been opposed to the proceedings against her. In such a state of things the election was sure to be the signal for a great outbreak of angry feeling. Winthrop was elected Governor, and Vane and his chief supporters were not even chosen to be Assistants. After this a tumult arose and fierce speeches were made, and some even came to blows. The men of Boston, who had been wont to send an escort with the Governor on public occasions, now refused it. Before the end of the year a conference of all the churches was held to settle some way of dealing with these troubles. Vane, whose influence might have been a help to those accused, had gone back to England. At the conference, Wheelwright was put on his trial for a sermon which he had preached, and for his opinions and practice generally. Mrs. Hutchinson was charged with imputing false teaching to all the ministers in the country except those of Boston. Several others of her chief supporters were accused of having made a heretical and scandalous statement in their petition on behalf of Greensmith. For this offence Mrs. Hutchinson and Wheelwright were banished; the rest had to acknowledge their guilt and to yield up their arms, and were deprived of any office that they held. With this the troubles ended, and the churches of Massachusetts for a while enjoyed peace. All traces of the storm soon passed away. Wheelwright after a time confessed himself in error, and was allowed to return.

Many of the others who had been punished, afterwards held offices, and served as loyal citizens in the wars against the Indians. It gives one a good idea of the small size of Massachusetts, and from what a little seed a great nation has grown, when one sees the whole state thrown into agitation, and almost civil war, by an affair which in England would not have occupied the attention of a single county, or even a large town, and of which ninety-nine persons out of a hundred might never have heard. It shows one too how popular the government was in spite of all its severity, and how loyal the citizens were, when such an affair could pass over and leave no ill effects behind, especially as only the leaders were banished, and many remained who might have served as the seed for a new faction.

5. *Danger from the English Government.*—Meanwhile, the colony was exposed to dangers from without as well as from within. Certain persons, Gardiner, Morton, and Ratcliffe, had been expelled from Massachusetts, the first two for disorderly conduct, the last for speaking ill of the government. They had complained to the English Government of their ill-treatment. Such complaints were readily received. Archbishop Laud and his party must from the first have looked on the colony with dislike and distrust. The harshness with which the Browns had been treated would increase this feeling. Ratcliffe too seems to have been dealt with severely; and though Gardiner and Morton were probably disorderly and vicious men, they could easily make up a fair-sounding story against the colonists. It is scarcely likely that the King, when he granted the charter, ever imagined what sort of fruit it would bear. The Privy Council at once took measures to control the independent spirit of Massachusetts. In February, 1634, they issued an order setting forth that many disaffected persons were crossing over to New England, and that, as evil conse-

quences would result from this, all ships should for a while be stopped from sailing thither. At the same time they demanded that the Massachusetts charter should be laid before them. Two months later the King issued a commission to Laud and ten others, empowering them to punish ecclesiastical offences in the colonies, to remove governors, to appoint judges and magistrates, to establish courts, and to revoke all charters and patents that might have been unfairly obtained. A little later, Sir Ferdinando Gorges laid before the Privy Council a scheme for dividing New England into a number of provinces, each under a Lieutenant-Governor, with one Governor over the whole, all to be appointed by the Crown. Such proceedings naturally alarmed the colonists. Even at this early time they showed that, if needful, they were prepared to resist any attack on their liberties. They fortified three of their chief towns, Boston, Charlestown, and Dorchester, and made arrangements for the collection and safe keeping of arms. A commission was appointed to manage all military affairs, with power, if war broke out, to imprison, or even put to death, any persons that refused to obey them. At the same time it was enacted that the freemen should no longer take the oath of allegiance to the King, but instead, should swear to be faithful and true to the commonwealth of Massachusetts.

6. *The Charter Threatened.*—In 1635 the Plymouth Company came to an end. Its existence had done no good, either to members of the company or to others, and accordingly they resolved to surrender their patent to the King. The only lasting effect of the company was to create confusion by the reckless way in which it had granted the same lands over and over again to different occupants. In the autumn of 1635 vigorous measures were taken by the English Government against Massachusetts. A writ of *Quo Warranto*, like that which had overthrown the

Virginia Company, was issued, and the Massachusetts charter was declared null and void. Two events which could have been in no way reckoned on made the attack vain. The ship in which Gorges was coming out to support the interests of the English Government fell to pieces almost as soon as launched. About the same time Mason, a leading member of the Plymouth Company, a friend of Gorges, and a most energetic opponent of Massachusetts, died. For three years no farther attempt was made to put the judgment against the charter in force. But in 1638 some more disaffected people who had been punished by the Massachusetts government for disorderly and seditious conduct, came to England with complaints, and stirred up the home Government against the colony. A strict order was sent out demanding the charter. The colony sent back, not the charter, but a protest against the injustice of taking it from them. It seemed as if they would have either to keep it by force or to yield. But the English Government soon had more serious matters to attend to at home. By 1639 the Scotch were in arms against Charles I. The civil war took off all attention from the colonies, and when peace was restored, the Puritans had the upper hand, and the charter of Massachusetts was safe.

7. *Settlement of Connecticut.*—Of all the American colonies, Massachusetts was the first, and for a long while the only one, which became itself the parent of other independent states. About 1634 the people in three of the townships of Massachusetts—Newtown, Watertown, and Dorchester—being pressed by lack of pasture for their cattle, formed a scheme for settling the lands which lay to the west beyond the boundary of Plymouth. This was a fertile land, watered by a broad river, the Connecticut. One reason for the movement was the fear that the Dutch, who were already settled on the river Hudson, might step in

and occupy this land. It was thought too that some of the leading men at Newtown wished for more influence and independence than they enjoyed there. The measure was at first much opposed in the General Court. It was thought that it would weaken the settlement, and take off some of their most valued ministers. Moreover, the Dutch had already set up a fort on the river, and might resent any trespass there. The Indians also in that quarter were many and fierce. The home Government too might disapprove of the settlers moving into lands to which they had no legal claim. Among those who were most anxious for the change were the people of Watertown. They, as we have seen, had been the first to resist the claim of the Governors and Assistants to impose taxes, and it is possible that both sides were influenced by the memory of that quarrel. Certain it is at least that the Assistants were opposed to the emigration, and the Deputies in favour of it. The latter view prevailed, and in 1635, with the leave of the Court, a settlement was formed. The emigrants set out too late in the year, and they suffered great hardships. The next year about a hundred emigrants with a hundred and sixty cattle set forth. By 1637 the new settlement contained three towns and eight hundred inhabitants.

8. *Constitution.*—The new colony was called Connecticut. At first the government was unsettled. It was held that the inhabitants were still subject to the state of Massachusetts; yet as early as 1636 they had a Court of their own, consisting of two deputies from each town, who managed all the public business of the settlement. This system went on for three years, but it was clear that they could not continue dependent on the government of a state separated from them by more than a hundred and thirty miles of wilderness. Accordingly in 1639 the freemen of Connecticut all met together and formed a Constitution very like that of Massa-

chusetts. The whole body of freemen were to elect a Governor and six Magistrates, who were to administer justice and manage public affairs. Each town was to elect two Deputies, and those, together with the Governor and Assistants, were to form the supreme Government. The chief points of difference between this Constitution and that of Massachusetts were two:—1. The freemen of each town only needed to be admitted by the other freemen of that town, and were not obliged to be church members; 2. No man could be governor for two years together. Massachusetts does not seem to have made any attempt to keep its hold over Connecticut, but allowed its inhabitants to set up a perfectly independent government. For the present Connecticut had no charter or patent from the Crown, and the constitution, like that of Plymouth, rested only on the agreement of the citizens.

9. *Other settlers in Connecticut.*—While this state was being formed, an attempt was also made by a party in England to colonize the same country. In the autumn of 1635, just when the first migration was being made from Massachusetts, John Winthrop, the son of the Massachusetts governor, came out with a commission from Lord Brook, Lord Say and Sele, and others, to be the governor of a tract of land on the river Connecticut. According to their orders, he established a fort at the mouth of the river, driving out a ship that had been sent by the Dutch to lay claim to the place. This settlement, for a while, had no connexion with the towns founded from Massachusetts. But in 1644, Fenwick, the governor of the fort, made it over to the state of Connecticut, in return for certain duties to be levied on ships sailing past.

10. *The Pequod War.*—Soon after the settlement of Connecticut, New England was engaged in its first Indian war. The country near the river Connecticut was inhabited by the

Pequods, a fierce and warlike tribe, numbering nearly a thousand warriors. For three or four years there were various paltry quarrels between the Pequods and the English, and some on each side were killed. The Pequods tried to strengthen themselves by an alliance with a neighbouring tribe, the Narragansetts. Roger Williams, who had been banished from Massachusetts, now showed a noble spirit of forgiveness. Being able to speak the Indian language, he went at the risk of his own life to the Narragansetts chiefs, and persuaded them to have no dealings with the Pequods. They were the more easily persuaded to this as the Pequods had formerly been their enemies. Soon after the Narragansetts sent an embassy to Boston, and made a firm alliance with England. The Mohegans, the only other powerful tribe of Indians in that country, were also friendly to the English. Thus the Pequods were left to stand alone. If it had been otherwise, and if the Indian tribes had united, it is possible that the English settlers might have been exterminated. In 1637 the English considered that they had good cause for beginning the war, and a force from Massachusetts and Connecticut marched against the Indians. They attacked the chief fort, where the Pequods had placed their women and children. The Indians for a while resisted, till the English set the fort on fire. The light wood and wicker work was at once in a blaze. All within, men, women, and children, to the number of six hundred, perished. Of the besiegers only two fell. The English then pushed on into the Pequod country, desolating and destroying everywhere, till nearly the whole tribe was exterminated. About two hundred survived, some of whom were kept as slaves by the English, while the rest lived scattered among the other Indian tribes. Their chief, Sasacus, fled to the Mohawks, by whom he was killed, and the nation of Pequods ceased to exist.

CHAPTER VI.

THE SMALLER NEW ENGLAND COLONIES.

Newhaven (1)—*Providence and Rhode Island* (2)—*Maine* (3)—*Lygonia* (4).

1. *Newhaven*.—Besides the three more important Puritan colonies, there were other small settlements in the same neighbourhood. All of these joined themselves sooner or later to the larger colonies. But some remained separate long enough to make it necessary that we should know something of their history. The most important of these was *Newhaven*. This was founded by a small body of men from Massachusetts, some of them of good birth and education. They wished to establish a state which should in all its arrangements make the Bible its rule of life. For this object, they quitted Massachusetts in 1638, and settled themselves at a place called *Quinipiac* on the coast, thirty miles to the west of the river Connecticut. Soon after they changed the name to *Newhaven*. For a year they lived without any fixed constitution, thinking it would be better to get some experience before they took the decisive step of forming a government. At the end of that time they proceeded to settle a system of government. As in Massachusetts, none but church members were to be freemen. They appointed twelve men, who were in their turn to choose seven who should draw up a constitution. The next year the freemen elected a Governor and four Deputies, and it was resolved that the whole body of freemen should meet once a year to transact public business. By 1641 the state had increased to three townships. Two small independent settlements had sprung up near, called

Guildford and Milford. These were like Newhaven in their general principles and system of government. In 1643 they voluntarily joined themselves to Newhaven. It now became necessary to introduce the system of representatives. Accordingly a government was formed very like that of Massachusetts. There was a Governor, a Deputy-Governor, and a body of Assistants elected by all the freemen, and a body of representatives, two from each town. These were to meet once a year. Important lawsuits were to be tried by the Assistants, small cases by Magistrates elected by the freemen in each town. The whole number of householders in the five towns amounted to a hundred and twenty-two. The most noticeable point about Newhaven was the wealth of its inhabitants, which was greater than in any of the neighbouring states. The town of Newhaven was the handsomest and best built in New England, and some of the inhabitants displeased the people of Massachusetts by the size and costliness of their houses.

2. Providence and Rhode Island.—When Roger Williams was driven out of Massachusetts, he established himself with a small band of followers at a place which they called Providence, at the head of Narragansett Bay. In 1640 we find the first record of any regular government among them. The colony then contained thirty-nine members. All their affairs were managed by five men, called Arbitrators. There does not seem to have been any fixed code of laws, nor any regular rules for the choice of these Arbitrators. Another settlement much like this sprang up in an island near Providence, called by its occupants Rhode Island. This was founded by some of Mrs. Hutchinson's followers when they were banished from Massachusetts. Here too there was at first no fixed code of laws. Affairs were managed by a Judge and three Assistants chosen by the whole people. In 1639 the settlement broke up into two independent bodies,

Newport and Portsmouth, but they were joined together again in 1640. The whole settlement by that time contained about fifty inhabitants, and a more regular system of government was introduced. Public affairs were to be managed by a Governor, a Deputy-Governor, and four Assistants. The Governor and two Assistants were to be chosen from one of the towns, the Deputy-Governor and the other Assistants from the other. Neither here nor in Rhode Island was it necessary that freemen should be church members. In 1644 Roger Williams returned to England and got from the Commissioners for Plantations a patent incorporating Providence, Portsmouth, and Newport into one colony, with full power to make their own laws and constitution. Another town called Warwick was at once added to these. A President and four Assistants, one from each town, were chosen. In 1647 a very peculiar system of making laws was introduced. Six Deputies were chosen by each township; these formed the General Court. Either this Court, or any of the towns at a public meeting of the townsmen, might propose a law; this proposal was then sent round to the four towns, and all the freemen might vote for or against it. The votes were then collected, and, if the law was confirmed by a majority, it was passed: if not, it fell to the ground. Thus, no doubt, they hoped to give every man a direct share in making the laws, without putting all the inhabitants to the trouble of attending a general meeting. In the same year a code of laws was drawn up. Unlike the codes of the other New England states, this resembled the English law, and was evidently drawn up by some one familiar with that system. It is also noteworthy that the General Court sent persons accused of treason to England for trial. This was almost the only instance in which any of the New England colonies invited the mother country to interfere with its internal affairs. The next year disputes broke out. Coddington, the

head of one party, went over to England, and returned with a patent constituting Newport and Portsmouth a separate state. This arrangement was strongly objected to by the other towns, and also by many of the inhabitants of Newport and Portsmouth. They believed that Coddington wished to join them to Massachusetts, and they disliked that scheme. Many of them were Baptists, and severe laws had lately been passed against that sect in Massachusetts, and some of them who had gone thither from Rhode Island had been flogged by order of the magistrates. The feud between Coddington and his opponents lasted three years, and each refused to acknowledge the authority of the other party as lawful. At last, in 1654, they were reconciled by Roger Williams. By his persuasion the four townships reunited under the patent of 1647. Williams himself was elected President. The management of affairs was handed over to the General Court of six deputies from each town, and the old code of laws was declared to be in force.

3. Maine.—In 1638 Gorges obtained from the King a charter, making him a proprietor of the province of Maine in New England. All the colonies that we have as yet considered were formed, either like Virginia and Massachusetts, by regular companies, or else like Plymouth and Connecticut, by bodies of men bound together by their own voluntary agreement for this purpose. There was however another class of colonies, dependent on a single proprietor or a small number of proprietors. In these cases, the King by a charter gave certain rights and powers to the proprietor, and he in his turn gave certain rights to the inhabitants. It will be better to consider this subject more fully when we come to the important proprietary colonies of Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Carolina. The grant to Gorges included all the land between the Piscataqua and Kennebec rivers, as far as a hundred and twenty miles from the sea. His charter gave

him almost kingly power over this territory. With the consent of the freeholders he could enact laws. By his own authority he could establish law courts, levy taxes, raise troops, and make war. The colony contained two settlements, York and Saco, and about three hundred citizens. Nevertheless Gorges, who seems to have had more activity than wisdom, drew up a most elaborate constitution, with enough of officials for the government of a great Empire. The settlement of York alone was to be governed by a Mayor, twelve Aldermen, and twenty-four Common Councillors. Gorges never visited his colony, and before long the settlers threw aside this cumbersome government, and established a simpler system for themselves. Little is known of the character and position of the earlier settlers in Maine. But as Gorges was no friend to the Puritans, and a strong partizan of the King, we may be almost sure that his settlers differed both in religion and politics from their neighbours in Massachusetts and Plymouth.

4. Lygonia.—Several scattered settlements had been formed to the north of Massachusetts, in the neighbourhood of the Piscataqua. Some of these were founded by settlers under the Plymouth Company, others by Mrs. Hutchinson's partizans when driven from Massachusetts. About 1641, some of these settlements of their own choice joined Massachusetts, and by 1643 one only remained independent. As many of these settlers were not Puritans, the Massachusetts government did not enforce the rule which held good in other towns, that all freemen must be church members. The one settlement which remained independent was called Lygonia. It was founded by some private settlers under a grant from the Plymouth Company. The only point to be noticed in its early history is, that part of the territory of Lygonia had already been granted to Gorges. Disputes accordingly arose with Maine. In these disputes the inhabitants of Lygonia appealed to Massachusetts. That colony declined to do anything in the

matter, but Maine was not strong enough to enforce its claim. In 1646 the dispute was brought before the Commissioners for Plantations, who decided in favour of Lygonia. In one way these small settlements had an important effect; they prevented New England from being exclusively and entirely Puritan.

CHAPTER VII.

THE NEW ENGLAND CONFEDERATION.

General view of New England (1)—relations between Plymouth and Massachusetts (2)—danger from the French settlers (3)—from the Dutch (4)—the Confederation (5)—the Commonwealth (6)—internal disturbances (7)—Church-government (8)—troubles with the Dutch (9)—dealings with the French (10)—with the Indians (11).

I. General view of New England.—So far we have considered the various English colonies to the north of the Hudson as separate provinces; we may now treat them as divisions of a single country, applying to all of them together the name of New England. The whole territory of New England extended about two hundred and fifty miles along the coast. Excepting the towns on the Connecticut, there were no settlements more than eight or ten miles from the sea. The whole English population amounted to about twenty-six thousand, of whom fifteen thousand belonged to Massachusetts. The laws, customs, and manners of life throughout all the colonies were much alike; all, except the two insignificant colonies of Maine and Lygonia, were composed mainly of Puritans. In none were there any very rich or very poor, or any class of wealthy landed gentry. Everywhere there were laws providing for the teaching of children.

Grown-up citizens too were subject to strict public discipline. Expense in dress and habits likely to lead to disorder, such as card-playing and drinking healths, were forbidden. As the soil and climate of all the colonies was much alike, so was their industry and commerce. The chief exports were corn, salt, fish, and timber. In Massachusetts shipbuilding was a thriving business, while Plymouth depended more on trade with the Indians in fur and skins, and from an early time had trading houses up several of the rivers. The most important point of likeness however which ran through all the states, was their system of townships and churches. Each town was a society by itself, managing the chief part of its own affairs by public meetings of the whole body of townsmen, and by officers elected at these meetings. The police, the public roads, and the relief of the poor were all under the control of the separate townships, although if they neglected their duties, they could be admonished, and even fined, by the colonial government. Moreover, when the colony levied a tax, it only declared that each town must pay a certain amount, and left the townsmen to settle how the payment should be divided among individuals. At the same time each town had a church of its own, and the congregation was for the most identical with the township. Under this system every freeman gained a certain amount of practical training in public affairs.

2. Relations between Plymouth and Massachusetts.—With this likeness of habits and institutions running through all the colonies, it was but natural that they should form some sort of political union. Till 1638 the two original colonies, Plymouth and Massachusetts, had little to do with one another, nor was that little always friendly. In 1634 one Hocking, with a vessel belonging to Lord Say and Sele, went to trade up the Kennebec. The men of Plymouth claimed the exclusive right of trading there, and

resisted. A quarrel followed, in which Hocking shot one of his opponents and was himself killed. The matter was taken up by the Court of Massachusetts. As neither Hocking nor the ship came from Massachusetts, this was a sort of claim to deal with all questions which affected the peace of New England. After some discussion it was decided that Hocking had only himself to blame. This does not seem to have caused any ill-feeling between the states, as immediately afterwards Plymouth proposed to Massachusetts to establish a joint trading house on the Connecticut. There were also disputes about boundaries, but these were settled in a friendly way.

3. *Danger from the French settlers.*—The first definite proposal for an union between the colonies was made in 1638; the reasons for it were plain enough. There was the danger always to be feared from the Indians. There was also the possibility of encroachments by the English Government. If the King conquered the Parliament, New England was almost sure to be one of his first victims. Danger also threatened from two other quarters. The French had by this time established themselves in Canada and in the country now called Nova Scotia, then Acadia. The city of Quebec had been founded in 1609, and, under the energetic government of Cardinal Richelieu, the great French minister, the colony had grown and prospered. Indeed, it is likely that, if the settlement of Massachusetts had been delayed for a few years, the whole territory north of the Hudson would have been seized by the French. The English and French settlers soon fell out. In 1613 Argall, who afterwards so misconducted himself as Governor of Virginia, had, without provocation, attacked and destroyed two of the French settlements. In 1629, when England and France were at war, a small English fleet, under a brave sea captain David Kirk, captured Quebec, and destroyed or took all the

French settlements on the American coast. But before the capture was made peace had been declared, on the condition that everything taken after April 24, 1629, should be given back. Accordingly the captured territory was restored to France. In 1631, though England and France were at peace, the New Englanders heard that the French colonists were about to attack them, and made ready to resist. In the next year a French ship fell on a trading station belonging to Plymouth, and carried off goods worth 500%.

4. **From the Dutch.**—Another European settlement threatened New England from the opposite side. In 1602 Henry Hudson, one of the greatest of English seamen, had, in the service of the Dutch, explored the coast to the south-west of Massachusetts Bay and sailed up the river which now bears his name. The Dutch, who had just cast off the rule of Spain, were then one of the most enterprising nations in Europe. They soon occupied the country between Delaware Bay and the Connecticut, and gave it the name of New Netherlands. In 1627 they sent a friendly embassy to Plymouth. But as soon as New England began to extend itself towards the Connecticut the Dutch thought that their territory was being encroached on, and disputes arose. Twice the Dutch sent vessels to drive the English away from the Connecticut, but each time without success. Besides this, small disputes arose ever and again between the Dutch and the English on the borders.

5. **The Confederation.**—As was natural, Connecticut, being one of the weakest colonies and nearest to the Dutch, was most anxious for some sort of league among the New England colonies. In September, 1642, proposals from Connecticut were laid before the court of Massachusetts. In the next year an union of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and Newhaven, was formed. Maine, Rhode Island, and Providence applied for admission, but were refused ;

the first because its political system was different from that of the united colonies, the others on the ground of their disorderly condition. The form of the union was a Confederation. Each colony, that is to say, was to preserve its full independence in all internal matters, while at the same time there was to be a supreme government over all the colonies, with full control over their dealings with foreign states. Such an union is, looked at from within, a group of separate states ; looked at from without, it is a single state. The government was entrusted to eight Federal Commissioners, two from each colony. The great defect of the Confederation was the superiority of Massachusetts to the other colonies. Its population was about fifteen thousand, that of the three smaller states scarcely three thousand each. In consideration of this it was agreed that if the Confederation went to war, Massachusetts was to send a hundred men for every forty-five from each of the other colonies. Besides, as the taxes levied for the defence of the Confederacy were to be proportioned to the population of each colony, Massachusetts had in two ways to bear the heaviest share of the common burden. At the same time the constitution only gave an equal share in the management of affairs to each colony. The result of this was that Massachusetts repeatedly tried to exercise more power than the articles of the union gave her, and that the harmony, and even the existence, of the Confederation was thereby endangered.

6. *The Commonwealth.*—As might have been expected, New England was a gainer by the victory of the Parliament over the King. In 1642 the House of Commons passed a resolution freeing New England from the import and export duties levied on the other colonies. Two years later the Court of Massachusetts made a law that anyone who should try to raise a party there for the King should be treated as an offender against the state. When the

colonial commissioners appointed by Parliament seized a Royalist vessel in Boston harbour, the question arose whether this act should be allowed. After some discussion, the Court decided not to resist. Their chief ground was that it would be foolish to quarrel with Parliament, which was their best friend. At the same time, they made an important admission. It might be said, and it was said at a later time, that Parliament had no authority over the colonies, because they had no representatives in the House of Commons. As a matter of form, all the land in America was reckoned, when it was granted by the King, to be in the manor of East Greenwich. Accordingly the Court of Massachusetts said that, as the colonists held their land in that manor, the parliamentary representatives of the borough or county which included that place, represented them also. In 1651 Parliament demanded that Massachusetts should give up its charter and take another from them. For a year no notice was taken of this. At last the General Court of Massachusetts sent back a somewhat vague answer, setting forth all that the settlers had done and suffered in founding a colony, and expressing a hope that no change would be made in its government. Two years later, the General Court took a very independent step. It established a mint, and coined money. This practice lasted for thirty years. Cromwell himself, throughout his whole career as Protector, was a fast friend to New England. Twice he proposed to the settlers to change their abode. After his desolation of Ireland he wished to move them in there, and at a somewhat later time he proposed that they should emigrate to Jamaica, which England had just taken from Spain. The colonists declined both these offers.

7. *Internal Disturbances.*—As had happened with Morton and Ratcliffe, the severity of Massachusetts towards offenders raised up enemies against her in England. About 1636

there came into New England one Gorton, a weak and hot-headed man, who held religious opinions disapproved of by the churches of Massachusetts. After getting into trouble in nearly every state in New England, at last, in 1641, he settled near Providence on land that he had bought from Miantonomo, chief of the Narragansetts. Near this was a small independent settlement called Pawtuxet, founded by some of Roger Williams's followers. These men complained of Gorton as a troublesome neighbour, and asked Massachusetts to protect them against him. Besides this, two Indians came to Boston and declared that the land which Miantonomo had sold was really theirs, and offered to submit themselves and their territory to Massachusetts. The Court of Massachusetts summoned Gorton and his companions to appear before them and answer these charges. Gorton, although he does not seem to have been altogether in the wrong, sent back, not a temperate answer, but a violent attack on the government and religion of Massachusetts. Thereupon the Court of Massachusetts, always severe in dealing with those who differed from it, seized Gorton and brought him to Boston in irons. There he took to preaching his religious doctrines, and got so many disciples that the Court was glad to hurry him out of the country, threatening him with death if he returned. He then lodged an appeal with the Commissioners for Foreign Plantations. They sent out orders that Gorton and his friends should be allowed to settle peaceably on the land which they had bought from the Indians. Massachusetts had already sent an agent, one Winslow, a leading man from the colony of Plymouth, to plead their cause against Gorton in England. When this order came out, they sent back an answer to be presented by Winslow. In this they boldly declared that the English Government ought not to receive appeals against the Colonial Governments, and that it was impossible for men

in England to know what was good for a distant settlement. The Commissioners for Plantations wrote a very temperate answer, promising not to trespass on the lawful power of the Massachusetts Government. At the same time they held out on the main point, and bade the General Court allow Gorton to live in peace. This was done, and the disturbance ended. Other inhabitants of New England besides Gorton had grievances which they laid before the English Government. Many of the inhabitants of Massachusetts, who stood high in position and character, had no share in the government, because their religious opinions would not allow them to join any of the New England churches. In 1646 a party, small in numbers, but including some of the best and ablest men in the colony, drew up a paper which set forth the above grievance, and laid it before the General Court. As soon as the Massachusetts settlers left the Church of England, they betook themselves to Independency, and Presbyterianism never found any favour with the generality of them. The conflict between the two sects was now raging in England, and the result seemed doubtful. The petitioners were for the most part Presbyterians, and the fears of the Independents were aroused. The petitioners were brought before the Court, accused of having made false and scandalous charges against the churches and Government of Massachusetts, and fined. Afterwards a rumour got about that they meant to appeal to the English Government. Their papers were seized, and found to contain treasonable matter, whereupon the writers were again heavily fined. At last they made their way to England; but by that time the Independents had the upper hand, and nothing came of the appeal.

8. Church Government. — In the great controversy in England between the Presbyterians and Independents many of the chief writers on the Independent side came from New England. At the same time, the New Englanders did not

keep to the pure Independent system. They found that their churches were threatened by enemies both in America and England, and would be in danger unless there was some union between them. In 1648 a meeting of all the churches in Massachusetts was held. It sat for a fortnight, and drew up a system of Church Discipline. This provided that similar meetings should be held from time to time. These were to have the power of advising and reproofing the different churches. Any offending church might be refused a place in these meetings, and if it should be obstinate, might be handed over for punishment to the General Court.

9. *Troubles with the Dutch.*—Till 1646 there was no open quarrel between the Confederation and its Dutch neighbours. In that year, Peter Stuyvesant, a man of high spirit and great courage, was appointed Governor of New Netherlands. One of his first acts was to seize a Dutch smuggling vessel in Newhaven harbour. The men of Newhaven resented this as an outrage, and Stuyvesant made matters worse by addressing a letter to "Newhaven in New Netherlands," as if laying claim to the territory. He then proposed to refer the dispute to the Governors of Plymouth and Massachusetts. The Court of Massachusetts thought that the question would be better referred to the Federal Commissioners. Stuyvesant demurred to this, and for four years the question remained open. In 1650 Stuyvesant himself came to Hartford in Connecticut to settle the matter in dispute. His chief complaint was that, by occupying Connecticut and Newhaven, the English had encroached on Dutch territory. The grievances of the English were certain acts of dishonesty on the part of Dutch traders at Hartford. They also accused the Dutch of assisting criminals to escape from New England. After some discussion, arbitrators were appointed, who settled the question in dispute, and fixed a boundary line between the Dutch and English territories. Disputes soon broke out again. In

the next year war was declared between England and Holland. Rumours began to run through the English settlements that the Dutch were conspiring with the Indians for a general attack on New England. Whether there was any good ground for this belief it is impossible now to say. But only twenty-four years earlier the Dutch had cruelly massacred a body of English traders at Amboyna, an island in the Moluccas. This had roused the English people to a great pitch of fury. With this fresh in their memory, the New Englanders could hardly be blamed for somewhat readily believing the charges against the Dutch. So strong was their feeling that three of the four colonies wanted to declare war. Massachusetts alone resisted. That colony was at once the most powerful and the least exposed to the Dutch, and therefore had least to fear. Accordingly, presuming on their greater strength, they declared through their commissioners, that, in spite of the decision of the Federal Court, they would not take part in the war. When the other commissioners represented that this was a breach of their agreement, the Massachusetts commissioners declined to answer them, and asked them to proceed to other business. The commissioners refused to do this till the dispute was settled. Massachusetts still held out. In their distress, Connecticut and Newhaven applied to England for help. Cromwell replied to the appeal by sending a fleet, with a land force on board. Connecticut and Newhaven at once raised forces to assist them. Massachusetts would take no part in the war, but allowed the English commander to raise 500 volunteers in their territory. Before operations could begin, news came of the utter defeat of the Dutch in the English Channel. This ended the war, and we hear no more of the disputes with the New Netherlands. The affair served to show the weakness of the Confederation, and how utterly its affairs were under the control of Massachusetts.

10. Dealings with the French.—About the time when the Confederation was founded, a sort of civil war was going on in the French settlement of Acadia between two rival claimants for the governorship, La Tour and D'Aulney. In 1642 La Tour made overtures to Massachusetts, asking for help, and offering in return a free trade between the New England ports and those under his jurisdiction. He also appealed to the religious sympathies of the New Englanders, as he was a Protestant and D'Aulney a Roman Catholic. Massachusetts declined to make any alliance with La Tour, but allowed him to raise soldiers in her territory, and to charter vessels in her harbours. In return he granted them free trade with his ports. In consequence of this proceeding, a law was made at the next meeting of the Federal Commissioners, forbidding any state to allow a levy in its territory without the leave of the whole Confederation. Soon after La Tour had been to Massachusetts D'Aulney also tried to make an alliance with that colony. No assistance was given him; but a firm peace was made, and it was arranged that there should be free trade between their territories. Soon after a ship which was sailing from Massachusetts with supplies for La Tour, was seized by D'Aulney, and the crew severely treated. This led to a quarrel, but the Federal Commissioners interfered, and friendship was restored. La Tour was then defeated and driven out. The men of Boston fitted him out with a ship, but he ungratefully set the English part of the crew on shore in the dead of winter, and sailed off on a voyage of piracy. The war ended with the accidental death of D'Aulney and the establishment of La Tour as Governor; but after his misconduct the New Englanders had nothing more to do with the quarrel. In 1650 the Governor of New France made proposals to New England for an offensive alliance against the Iroquois, or Five Nations, the most powerful and warlike of

all the Indian races. Hitherto these Indians had not had much to do with the English, but they had never shown any hostile feeling towards them. They had recently made a fierce and successful onslaught on the Abenakis, a nation allied to the French, and including many Christian converts. The New Englanders refused to have anything to do with the quarrel, and at a later time the Iroquois proved valuable allies against the French.

II. With the Indians.—The dealings of the Confederation with the Indians, like those with the Dutch, showed the undue power of Massachusetts. Miantonomo, the Narragansett chief, was for some time suspected of designs against the English. This charge rested chiefly on the evidence of Uncas, the chief of the Mohegans. He and his people had always been fast friends to the English, and were enemies to the Narragansetts. Miantonomo too was the friend and ally of Gorton, and this no doubt embittered many of the settlers against him. In 1642 the question of declaring war on him came before the Federal Commissioners. Massachusetts, in opposition to the other three States, was for peace, and prevailed. Soon after war broke out between Miantonomo and Uncas. The former was defeated and taken prisoner. Uncas consulted the Federal Commissioners as to how he should deal with his captive. Their advice was that Miantonomo should be put to death, but without torture. Uncas followed this counsel. Next year the war between the Mohegans and the Narragansetts was renewed. The Confederacy at once prepared for war—this time without any dispute. The Narragansetts, overawed by this, came to terms, and a treaty was made. By this the Narragansetts bound themselves to pay a yearly tribute to the Confederacy. But the tribute was irregularly paid, and had to be extorted by force. It was even rumoured that the Narragansetts were trying to bring

down the Iroquois upon the English. At length, in 1650, the Confederacy sent a small force into the country of the Narragansetts and seized Pesacus, their chief. This struck such terror into them that for a while they left the English in security. Danger soon threatened the English from another tribe, the Nyantics, allies of the Narragansetts. They it was with whom the Dutch were thought to be plotting against New England. Moreover, they had molested some Indians who were friendly to the English. As Massachusetts refused to believe the charge against the Dutch, it was but reasonable that she should oppose the war against the Nyantics, and she did so. This time, however, she was overruled, and a force was sent out under the command of one Willard, a Massachusetts man. Owing to his slackness the Indians were allowed to retire into a strong position, and the troops went home without striking a blow. Thus it was again seen how useless it was for the Confederacy to attempt any measure which was disapproved of by Massachusetts.

Another dispute arose in which Massachusetts showed the same overbearing temper. As we have seen, the Government of Connecticut had bought and maintained a fort at Saybrook. To repay them for this, they charged toll on all goods carried up or down the river Connecticut on which the fort stood. The men of Springfield, a town on the river within the boundary of Massachusetts, refused to pay this toll, and the Government of Massachusetts backed them in their refusal. The dispute was referred to the Federal Commissioners, who decided in favour of Connecticut. The Court of Massachusetts then drew up an answer making proposals very dangerous to the Confederacy. They suggested that Massachusetts should, in consideration of her greater size and services, be allowed three Commissioners. They also proposed to lessen the power of the Federal

Commissioners by limiting their meetings to one in every three years, and by a law that, if any colony chose not to follow the advice of the Commissioners, this should be considered no breach of the agreement, and no power should be employed to enforce such advice. At the same time they protested against the judgment of the Commissioners about the toll. The Commissioners refused to alter their decision. Thereupon the Court of Massachusetts, in retaliation, imposed a duty on all goods imported into their territory from any of the three other colonies. The Commissioners drew up a remonstrance, and appealed to Massachusetts whether such conduct "agreed with the law of love and the tenor and import of the Articles of Confederation." In the next year Massachusetts took off the duty, and the dispute ended.

12. *Quakers in New England.*—About this time a religious sect made its first appearance in New England, which afterwards played an important part in American history. These were the Quakers, or, as they called and still call themselves, the Friends. Their founder was one George Fox, a cobbler. The very first members of the sect were for the most part wild and untaught fanatics. They went to every part of the world, to Germany, the East, and America, preaching their doctrines, and often annoying and insulting those who would not hear them. They even went to Italy and Turkey in the hope of converting the Pope and the Sultan. In 1654 their writings were forbidden by the Court of Massachusetts. Two years later some of them appeared there in person. They were at once brought before the Court and examined. They railed at the officials, and, for this and their opinions, were banished. In the same year a law was passed, that all Quakers coming into the colony should be flogged, and that any shipmaster bringing them in, or any person entertaining them or having their books, should be banished. In the following May, Quaker meetings were forbidden by law.

Nevertheless Quakerism spread, and in October a law was passed, that, if any Quakers should return after they had been once banished, they should be put to death. During the next two years this law was put in force five times. Winthrop, the Governor of Connecticut, son of the former Governor of Massachusetts, begged for the lives of the offenders; but the Deputies, encouraged by the Church elders, stood firm. At last public feeling showed itself so strongly that the Court gave way. They did not confess themselves in the wrong by formally repealing the former law, but they practically set it aside, by ordering that Quakers should be flogged in every town in the colony. From that time no more were put to death. In Plymouth and Newhaven Quakers were also flogged. In Connecticut, thanks to Winthrop, they were almost free from persecution. In Rhode Island alone they escaped it altogether, and found such a refuge as the early Puritans had found in Holland. The Federal Commissioners wrote to the Government of Rhode Island to remonstrate with them on their conduct. In their answer the Rhode Islanders defended themselves by saying that they had found that, where the Quakers are "suffered to declare themselves freely, there they least desire to come; and that they are likely to gain more followers by the conceit of their patient sufferings than by consent to their pernicious sayings."

CHAPTER VIII.

NEW ENGLAND FROM THE RESTORATION TO THE
REVOLUTION OF 1688.

Massachusetts and the Restoration (1)—*commissioners sent out from England* (2)—*the other New England colonies* (3)—*union of Newhaven and Connecticut* (4)—*state of New England* (5)—*war with King Philip* (6)—*war with the Tarratens* (7)—*New Hampshire and Maine made separate colonies* (8)—*the Massachusetts charter annulled* (9)—*New England under James II.* (10)—*the revolution in New England* (11).

I. Massachusetts and the Restoration.—At the Restoration the management of the colonies was given to a special Board called the Council for the Plantations. A few months later twelve Privy Councillors were appointed as a Committee to settle the government of New England. No immediate change took place. But it was at once clear that the New Englanders feared danger from the restored monarchy. Rumours reached them from their friends in England that Virginia and the West India Islands were forbidden to trade with them, and that a Governor over all the New England colonies was about to be sent out from England. Moreover the Quakers had been laying their grievances before the King. The Court of Massachusetts at once sent over addresses to the King and the Parliament. In both they expressed a hope that they might keep that freedom in quest of which they had faced such toils and dangers. They also pointed out the extreme obstinacy and insolence of the Quakers, and declared that if they would but have promised to stay away from Massachusetts, they would have been pardoned. The address to the King was answered by a

letter with general promises of friendship and good treatment. At the same time it forbade the colonists to inflict any bodily punishment on the Quakers, and ordered that they should be sent over to England for trial. This order was disregarded. By obeying it the colonists would have given up their right of trying all offences in the colony, a point on which they always stood firm. Two years later the law condemning Quakers to be flogged was re-enacted, though it was granted as a favour that it should only be inflicted in three towns. The position of the settlers now became a difficult one. They wished to stand well with the King, and at the same time to be on their guard against encroachment on their rights. In the following March (1661) the Court of Massachusetts compelled John Eliot, a leading minister, to apologize for a book he had written teaching doctrines hostile to monarchy. Soon after, they drew up a very important paper. It was a formal declaration, setting forth the rights of the settlers and the duties which they owed to the Crown. It declared that the whole body of freemen had power to add to their own number, to appoint officers, and to carry on government; and that there was no appeal from them, unless their laws were contrary to those of England. They claimed the right to make war in defence of their own country, and declared that any tax injurious to the colony and contrary to any of its laws was an infringement of their rights. In August the King was formally proclaimed in Massachusetts. The other New England colonies soon did likewise. Newhaven, however, was so slow about it that the Court of Massachusetts at length warned the government of the danger of delay. During the same year an event happened which gave the New Englanders some cause for uneasiness. Just before the King was restored, two of the judges who had sentenced Charles I., Goffe and Whalley, came out to America. For some while they lived

openly in the neighbourhood of Boston, and were well received by many of the chief men. But in November 1660, when they had been out about three months, tidings came from England that all the King's judges were to be pardoned except seven, of whom Goffe and Whalley were two. Thereupon they fled to Newhaven. In March, orders came out to seize them, but their friends hid them; no hard matter in a wild country. They escaped from their pursuers, lived in hiding, and died peaceably in Newhaven. Though the authorities in Massachusetts do not seem to have furthered their escape, or to have failed in any way to obey the orders from England, yet the matter might easily have been turned against the colony by its enemies. With all these causes for alarm, the Court of Massachusetts resolved to send over two men to appear on behalf of the colony before the King. They chose Simon Bradstreet, one of the original settlers, and John Norton, a leading minister. They were graciously received by the King, and brought back a letter from him to the Court of Massachusetts. He promised to respect their patent and charter. At the same time he ordered that the right of voting should be given to all freeholders, whether they were Church-members or not, that the services of the Church of England should be allowed, that the colonists should take the oath of allegiance, and that for the future justice should be administered in the King's name. The colonists would not have been injured by granting any of these demands, but they would have been giving up that right of self-government which they had so often claimed. They gave way so far that all legal papers were drawn up in the King's name, but they referred the other matters to a Committee, and nothing was done about them. So indignant were the people at the matter, that they vented their wrath in abuse of Bradstreet and Norton. The latter died in a few months, broken-

hearted, as it was thought, at the ingratitude of his countrymen.

2. Commissioners sent out from England.— For two years after the King's letter came out, Massachusetts had no important dealings with the home Government. But in 1664 four Commissioners were sent out by the King to set matters in order in New England. Their chief instructions were to settle the disputes about boundaries, to remedy the grievances of those who were deprived of the rights of citizens, and to inquire into the truth of certain complaints brought by the Indians against the settlers. They had power to hear complaints and appeals, and to "proceed in all things for the providing for and settling the peace and security" of New England. They were also to "dispose the people to an entire submission and obedience to the King's government," and, if possible, to persuade them to give the King the right of naming the governor of the colony and the commander of the militia. At the same time there is nothing to show that this was to be carried out except by full consent of the colonists themselves. The only one of the Commissioners who had had any dealings with New England before was Samuel Maverick. He was one of the men who in the time of the Commonwealth had pleaded the cause of those who were not Church-members, and for this had been fined by the Court. His presence on the Commission may have served to alarm the colonists. In July 1664 the Commissioners arrived at Boston. Their first request was for help against New Netherlands, as the Dutch were then at war with England. This was granted. In obedience to the Commissioners, the law was repealed which required that freemen should be church members. The Court then drew up an address to the King. In this they set forth that their charter gave them the privilege of being governed by rulers of their own choosing, and that this was taken from them by the

appointment of the Commissioners. They also declared that to set up a government directly appointed by the King in the colony would increase taxation, impoverish the inhabitants, and thus destroy their trade and hurt England. During the whole stay of the Commissioners in Massachusetts they were engaged in petty quarrels and bickerings with the colonists. The Court showed a fixed determination not to comply with the demands of the King, while the Commissioners took no pains to make their requirements less unpleasant by a courteous and conciliatory manner. On the main point, whether the colony had complied with the King's instructions of 1662, the Commissioners could get no definite answer from the Court. In all the other New England colonies the Commissioners met with a friendly reception, and on their return the King wrote letters to Connecticut and Plymouth, praising them for their obedience, and contrasting it with the stubborn conduct of Massachusetts.

3. *The other New England Colonies* —If Massachusetts seemed likely to lose by the Restoration, Rhode Island and Connecticut were gainers by it. Rhode Island had proclaimed the King before any other of the New England colonies. At the same time they sent over an agent to England to ask for a charter. Their exclusion from the New England confederation possibly told in their favour at the English Court. In July 1663, they received a charter constituting them a separate colony. The election of the Governor was left to the freemen of the colony, and the existing system of government was in no way changed. The charter also gave full religious liberty to all sects. Connecticut met with like favour. This was probably due to the influence of its Governor, Winthrop, who himself came over to plead their cause. He was a man of good breeding and education, and seems to have ingratiated himself with the King and his Lord Treasurer,

Clarendon. At the same time that the charter was granted to Rhode Island, Connecticut also received one confirming the existing constitution. These two charters were so carelessly drawn up that the lands assigned to each colony overlapped. Thus a dispute arose, which however was fortunately settled before either of the charters were sent out.

4. **Union of Newhaven and Connecticut.**—The Connecticut charter gave rise to more serious trouble. It included the whole territory of Newhaven, and thus empowered Connecticut to annex that colony. The people of Newhaven had incurred the displeasure of the King in the matter of Goffe and Whalley, and it is not impossible that this charter was in part designed to punish them. When the people of Newhaven learnt what had been done, they petitioned the King not to unite them to Connecticut. Winthrop, who was still in England, hearing of this petition, promised that no union should be made except by the free consent of Newhaven. But the Government of Connecticut did not consider that Winthrop had any power to bind them by such a promise, and, when the charter arrived, they required the people of Newhaven to submit. Newhaven for a while held out, and was supported by the Federal Commissioners from Plymouth and Massachusetts. The union was at length brought about by the news that Commissioners were coming out from England. It was clearly better for Newhaven to form part of a colony which had just got a liberal charter, than to face the Commissioners without any charter, and with the King's displeasure hanging over it. The Federal Commissioners represented this to the Government of Newhaven, and in 1664 the two colonies were united. This practically put an end to the New England confederation. For the future the Commissioners only met once in three years, and we hear but little of their action in important matters.

5. **State of New England.**—After the departure of the

Commissioners New England enjoyed a period of security and great prosperity. Under the Commonwealth, Puritans had been too well off in England to care to emigrate, and New England had not received many fresh settlers. But now the Act of Uniformity deprived some two thousand nonconforming ministers of the livings of which they had possessed themselves under the Commonwealth, and by leading many to seek refuge in New England, furnished the colonies with some of their ablest clergy. Trade also thrived. In spite of the Navigation Act ; no custom house was built ; and as all the officers of the colony, from the Governor downwards, were independent of the home Government, there was little chance of an unpopular law being strictly put in force. Moreover the fire of London and the Dutch war so fully occupied the English Government that for a while it neglected colonial affairs. Yet the inhabitants of Massachusetts had much cause for uneasiness. From the outset their State had only existed by the sufferance of the English Government. Its charter was merely the charter of a trading company. It gave no power to enact laws, to inflict punishment, to form alliances, or to make war. Massachusetts had indeed been allowed to grow under this charter into a free and prosperous community, and it is no wonder that she should have been prepared to hold fast by privileges which she had so long enjoyed. Yet it was certain that in all that she had done she had exceeded and misused the powers granted her ; and no tribunal, however friendly, could help ruling that her charter was forfeited. Other things might, and for a while did, occupy the home Government ; but the blow was sure to come at last. Besides there was danger within the colony. Riches had increased, and the old Puritan severity of temper and principle had become weaker. A race of men had grown up, less attached to the ideas and habits of their fathers, easily dazzled by the

greater splendour and grace of English life, and therefore inclined to look favourably on anything which drew the colony closer to the mother country. Even among those who were for holding fast to their independence, there were two parties. One was for a moderate and conciliatory policy; the other opposed all concessions, and objected to sending over agents to England, or acknowledging the acts of trade as binding on the colonists.

6. War with King Philip.—New England was soon threatened from another quarter. For the last thirty years the settlers had been at peace with the Indians. Something had been done towards converting and civilizing them. In 1643 Thomas Mayhew, a Massachusetts Puritan, obtained a grant of certain small islands off the coast of Plymouth, but forming no part of its territory. Here his son a, minister established a small settlement of Christian Indians. John Eliot followed his example, and two villages were formed in Massachusetts, inhabited by converts, living by husbandry and handicrafts. Thus by 1674 there were in New England more than a thousand Christian converts. Yet little had been done to bring the whole race of Indians into friendly relations with the settlers. The missionaries had done their work by drawing out small bodies of Indians and separating them from the great mass, not by attempting to carry Christianity and civilization into the heart of the Indian country. Such an attempt would perhaps have been idle. The villages of praying Indians, as they were called, probably did something to make the rest of the natives keep aloof from the English. They saw that, in order to become Christians and friends of the white men, they must give up their free life of hunting, and take to ways that they looked on as disgraceful. They saw too that, even so, they could not really win the friendship or the respect of the English. The converted Indians too often lost the happiness of the savage, without

gaining that which belongs to civilized life. The friendship between the Plymouth settlers and Massasoit lasted during his life. His two sons, as a token of respect for the English, took the names of Alexander and Philip. Yet after their father's death they were suspected of treacherous designs. During Alexander's reign no open war broke out, but the settlers, thinking that he was plotting against them, seized him and carried him by force to Boston. Soon after he died, and was succeeded by Philip, a man of great ability and courage. The Plymouth settlers had for some years been trying to weaken the Indians, by buying up their lands and leaving them only some necks of land running out into the sea, where, being surrounded by water on three sides, they could be more easily kept in check. In 1670 Philip was suspected of intrigues with the Narragansetts against the English, and the Court of Plymouth demanded that he should give up his arms. He sent in seventy guns, and promised the rest, but kept them. Soon after however he came himself to Plymouth, and made a treaty, by which he owned himself subject to the King of England and the Government of Plymouth, and promised not to make any war without the consent of the English. It may be doubted whether the Indians, in this and like treaties, understood clearly the nature of their own promises. In 1674 Sausamon, a Christian Indian, warned the English that Philip was plotting against them. Soon after Sausamon was killed by three Indians, employed, as was believed, by Philip. For this crime they were tried and executed at Plymouth. Philip and his subjects were not ready for an outbreak, but they saw that they were detected, and must strike at once or never. Accordingly, in the spring of 1675 they invaded the English territory. They did not march in a body, but, following their own mode of warfare, fell upon the settlers in small parties wherever a chance offered. In spite of the

long peace with the Indians, the settlers had not neglected the means of defence. All the male inhabitants were bound to be provided with arms and ammunition, and they often met for military exercise. Moreover, in Massachusetts all the boys between ten and sixteen were specially trained for Indian warfare by old soldiers who had served against the Pequods. But no drill can supply the want of actual practice in war, especially for irregular fighting in the forest, and for a while it seemed as if the settlers would be worsted. If the Indians had only been united, it is not unlikely that the settlers would have been exterminated. But Philip had been hurried into war before his plots were ripe, and many of the Indians were taken by surprise, and were not ready for action. In July the settlers marched into the Narragansetts' country and compelled that tribe to make a treaty, whereby they promised to give no help to Philip or his people, but to kill or deliver up to the English any who might enter their territory. In the next winter the English seemed to have the enemy at their mercy. They hemmed in Philip on a narrow neck of land running out into the sea, where there seemed to be no escape. But Philip and his bravest warriors made their way to the mainland, either swimming or on rafts. Many who had hitherto stood aloof now took up arms, and ravaged the English country. In the words of a New England writer, "there was no safety to man, woman, nor child ; to him who went out or to him who came in. Whether they were asleep or awake, whether they journeyed, laboured, or worshipped, they were in continual jeopardy." The settlers in their rage forgot all the restraints of justice and humanity. Some wished to massacre all the Christian Indians, lest they should turn traitors. In one town the magistrates refused to put to death two captive Indians on mere suspicion of their guilt. On Sunday, as the women of the place were coming away from their meeting-

house, they fell on the two Indian prisoners in a body, and killed them. As winter came on the hopes of the Indians declined. They had been unable to sow their corn during summer, and the war left them no leisure for hunting. They were driven to live on roots and every kind of garbage. Many fell sick and died. In November the English heard that the Narragansetts had received some of Philip's men as friends. They at once determined to prevent the union of the two tribes, and marched into the Narragansett country with a thousand men. They reached the chief village unchecked, and attacked it. The Indians opened so fierce a fire, that for a while the assailants were kept at bay. At last they stormed the fort, and the Indians fled, leaving their stores, their women and children, and many old, sick, and wounded. The English then set fire to the village, and of those who had been left behind some three hundred perished in the flames. The settlers lost about one hundred and seventy men, many of whom died from their wounds and the severity of the weather. Of the Indians more than a thousand fell, of whom seven hundred were fighting men. During the next summer Philip and his men again attacked the English settlements ; but, though they did much damage, they were too much weakened to have any chance of lasting success. Philip's forces were destroyed ; he was driven from place to place, and at last, in August, he was shot by a deserter from his own side. Before the winter the whole of his tribe, save a few who escaped to the west, were either slain or captured. Among the prisoners was Philip's son, a child of three years old. Some of the settlers wished to put him to death, but the more humane party prevailed, and he was sent, with many of his fellow-prisoners, as a slave to the Bermudas. The settlers had lost six hundred men ; whole towns were destroyed, and about six hundred houses burnt to the ground.

7. War with the Tarrateens.—In 1676 another Indian war broke out on the Piscataqua. The chief tribe in that quarter were the Tarrateens. Among their chiefs was one Squanto, who, by claiming magical powers, had gained great influence over his countrymen. One day, as his wife was travelling down the river with her infant child, she met some English sailors, who wantonly upset her canoe. The woman and child escaped, but the child soon afterwards died from the mishap. The savages, urged on by Squanto, and encouraged by the example of Philip, fell upon the settlers. For three years the war raged, and many lives were lost on both sides. In 1676 a large number of the Indians made peace with the settlers, but this was soon broken through the treachery of one of the English, Major Waldron. He suspected that the Indians were plotting to break the peace, and he resolved to be beforehand with them. With this aim he invited four hundred of them to a sham fight. The Indians, by agreement, fired off their guns first. Before they could reload, the English surrounded them, and took them prisoners. Two hundred were sent to Boston; some of those who had slain Englishmen were put to death, and the rest sold as slaves. The Indians never forgot this treachery, and some thirteen years later, during another war, Waldron was captured by the treachery of an Indian who pretended to be his friend, and cruelly tortured to death. The capture of these Indians probably did the English more harm than good, since it taught their enemies that there was no safety in submission, and that their only chance was to fight it out. So hard pressed were the English that in 1678 they were glad to make peace. They agreed to pay the Indians a bushel of corn for every English household, on condition that they might inhabit their former settlements in peace. This was the first treaty ever made with the Indians on terms disadvantageous to the English. One important event occurred

during this war. I have already spoken of the confederacy of the Five Nations, called by the English the Mohawks and by the French the Iroquois. They numbered some three thousand warriors, and their lands reached from the frontier of New Netherlands to the Canadian lakes. But, beyond those bounds, they exercised a supremacy over many tribes who did not belong to the confederacy, but who paid them tribute and obeyed their commands. Happily for the English, the Mohawks were unfriendly to the New England Indians. They were also hostile to the French, and they may have known something of the enmity between the French and the English, and so have been inclined to favour the latter. In 1677 two ambassadors were sent from the settlers on the Piscataqua to the Mohawks. They were well received, and the Mohawks promised to attack the Tarrateens. No great result seems to have come of this at the time, but it was the beginning of a long and useful alliance. The conduct of the settlers during these wars increased the displeasure of the home Government. It was thought that they might have made shorter work of their enemies if they had been willing to ask help from England, but that their pride and independence had withheld them.

8. *New Hampshire and Maine made Separate Colonies.*—

In 1676 Massachusetts became engaged in a dispute about boundaries. In 1629 John Mason had obtained from the Plymouth Company a grant of all the land between the rivers Merrimac and Piscataqua. But the grant made two years before to the Massachusetts Company had for its northern boundary a line three miles north of the Merrimac. The Massachusetts Government had always contended that this boundary was a straight line drawn from three miles beyond the northernmost part of the Merrimac to the sea. This would have given them all the settlements on the Piscataqua. Mason's heirs, on the other hand, contended that

the boundary was to be a line three miles north of the Merrimac all along its course. For some years Mason, the grandson of the first proprietor, had been endeavouring to revive this claim. At the same time the heirs of Gorges were attempting to recover Maine. As neither of those claimants seemed likely to succeed, they proposed to sell their rights to the Crown. The King at first entertained this proposal, intending to make a province for his natural son, the Duke of Monmouth. Monmouth however found that no great profit was likely to accrue from this, and the scheme was abandoned. In 1675 Mason again revived his claim. One Randolph was sent out by the Council for Plantations to inquire into the matter. He was a kinsman of Mason, a man of great ability, and a bitter enemy to New England. From the time that he went out, he devoted his whole energy to raking up every charge that he could find against the settlers, and putting all their conduct in the worst light possible, so as to egg on the English Government against them. He sent back a report that there were many settlers in the disputed territory who wished to separate from Massachusetts. The case was brought before the English Chief Justice, who ruled that the land was not included in the Massachusetts grant. Accordingly the King placed the four towns on the Piscataqua under a separate government, and called the districts so formed New Hampshire. It was to be governed by a President and Council nominated by the King, and a House of Deputies, from the different towns. The first Governor appointed under the new system was John Cutts, a leading man in the colony, and esteemed by the inhabitants. After a year he was superseded by Edward Cranfield, who had bought Mason's right to the land. He soon embroiled himself with the inhabitants by various misdeeds. Amongst other things, he was accused of levying taxes without the consent of the Assembly, of having suits

in which he was interested tried by courts that he had himself appointed, of raising the fees in the law courts so as to prevent poor men from suing, and of committing men to prison without trial. The people complained of these wrongs to the English Government, and Cranfield saved himself from being turned out of his government by resigning it. The claims of Gorges' heirs were more easily settled. Massachusetts bought their rights in the land for 1,200*l.*, and stepped into the place of the proprietor. Accordingly the Government of Massachusetts also governed Maine, but as a separate state, not forming any part of Massachusetts, and governed according to the charter originally granted to Gorges.

9. *The Massachusetts Charter Annulled.*—In 1679 the English Government at last found leisure to turn its attention to Massachusetts. In July the King sent out a letter, repeating some of the demands made by him before, and in addition desiring that the colonists should surrender the province of Maine on repayment of the 1,200*l.*, on the ground that they had dealt harshly with some of the settlers there. The Court of Massachusetts took no notice of this demand. To all the others they replied that they either had been, or should be, fulfilled. In 1681 the long-expected blow came. A general attack was made by the King and his advisers on the charters of corporations throughout England. In some cases the privileges granted to city corporations had been used by the members as a means for setting at naught the laws. Such charters might with justice have been forfeited. But this was made a pretext for extending the attack to others, against which no such charges could be brought. The Judges of that day were so subservient to the Crown that it was useless for the corporations to resist. A charter which had been so wrested from its original purpose as that of Massachusetts was not likely to be overlooked. The King demanded that agents should be sent from Massa-

chusetts to explain the charges brought against the colony of neglecting to enforce the Navigation Act and of coining money by their own authority. At the same time the settlers were privately informed that their charter would be attacked. They sent over two agents, who wrote back word that the charter was sure to be taken from them, and asked whether they should surrender it of their own accord. The Court decided to let matters take their course. About this time Cranfield maliciously persuaded the Court of Massachusetts to instruct their agents to present 2,000*l.* to the King as the price of keeping the charter. This proposal gained them nothing but mockery, as Cranfield wished. In October 1683 the agents came back, and soon after the charter was declared null and void. The constitution under which Massachusetts had existed from its foundation was at an end.

10. *New England under James II.*—Before the new government could be settled, Charles II. died. During the first year of James's reign no material change was made. In 1686 the King appointed a Council, with Joseph Dudley as its president, to govern Massachusetts, Maine, and New Hampshire. Dudley was the son of one of the sternest of the old Massachusetts Puritans. But he had utterly forsaken his father's ways, and cared more for the favour of the English Court than for the rights of his fellow-citizens. In 1686 the charter of Connecticut was also annulled. Rhode Island had already yielded up hers. The policy of James was to unite all the northern colonies under one government. Accordingly, in 1686 Sir Edmund Andros was sent out with a commission as Governor of Massachusetts, Plymouth, New Hampshire and Maine. At the same time he had instructions from the King to join Connecticut to Massachusetts. The commission empowered Andros and his Council to levy taxes, to make laws, and to administer justice in civil and criminal cases. These laws were to be approved of by the

King, and the legal proceedings were to follow the English forms. Not a word was said of representatives, or of any political rights to be granted to the people. Eleven years before Andros had had unfriendly dealings with New England. Being then Governor of New York, he had, by orders of the Duke of York, the proprietor of that colony, marched with a force to Saybrook, to demand that Connecticut should give up to him several strong places, as being in his dominions. The settlers prepared to resist by force, if needful, and after a fruitless interview with them Andros departed. The dispute was referred to commissioners appointed by the King, and was decided in favour of Connecticut. In October 1687 Andros marched into Connecticut, and demanded the charter. One of the leading settlers Captain Wadsworth, it is said, hid it away; at all events, the Court did not give up the actual document. But this of course availed them nothing, and Andros declared the colony joined to Massachusetts. In 1688, to complete the King's scheme of making one State of all the northern colonies, Andros was made Governor of New York. Thus he was ruler of all the English settlements north of Delaware Bay, and was responsible to none but the King. During his governorship he was accused of many arbitrary proceedings. It was said that he would not allow persons to marry until they had given surety to him, to be forfeited if there should prove to be any impediment, and that he threatened not to suffer the people to worship in their own fashion. Even private property was not safe. Grants of land made by the former Government were declared invalid. When the people complained, Andros and his followers mockingly told them that "the calf had died in the cow's belly," meaning that the destruction of the charter had overthrown all lesser rights that were connected with it. In this winter a campaign was made against the Indians, but nothing was done, owing

either to the incapacity of Andros or to the slackness of men serving under a commander whom they disliked.

II. The Revolution in New England.—Whether the New England colonists would have long endured the misgovernment of Andros may be doubted. At all events, when the news of the Revolution of 1688 reached them, they were quite ready for an outbreak. Seldom has a revolution been so easy and so bloodless. The people rose with one accord, seized Andros, and turned out his officials. The other New England colonies did likewise. All the old Colonial Governments were restored, but only to hold their power till the English Government made some definite arrangement. This was not done for four years, and during that time the old constitutions were in force. In 1691 the case of Massachusetts came before the English Government. The agents for the colony soon saw that it was hopeless to think of recovering their old charter, and only applied themselves to getting as favourable an one as they could in its place. The English Government proposed to unite Plymouth to Massachusetts. The Plymouth agent at first resisted this, but he soon found that there was no chance of Plymouth being allowed to remain under a separate government, and that, if not joined to Massachusetts, it would be to New York. As his countrymen would have liked this still less, he yielded. In 1692 the new charter was sent out. The one great change which it made was, that the Crown appointed the Governor, while before the people had elected him. The General Court was to consist of twenty-eight councillors and an Assembly of representatives. The councillors were to be elected every year by the General Court; the representatives by the inhabitants of the various towns. No religious qualification was required from electors as formerly, but all who had freeholds worth forty shillings a year, or other estate of forty pounds value, were admitted to vote. All laws made by the Court were to be

sent home to England for approval. This, and the change in the manner of appointing the Governor, quite deprived Massachusetts of that independence which she had always hitherto claimed. In his appointment of a Governor the King showed his wish to conciliate the people. He sent out Sir William Phipps, a native of Massachusetts, of low birth, who when a lad fed sheep, and afterwards became a ship's carpenter. In that trade he heard of a Spanish ship which had sunk with treasure on board. Having raised the vessel, he brought a great sum of money to England, and was knighted by the King. James II. made him sheriff of New England, but, unlike most of James's officers there, he did his best to serve his country, and won the esteem of the New Englanders. He was a man of no great ability, but honest, benevolent, and popular. The inhabitants of Massachusetts and New Hampshire would have gladly seen the two states again joined. But though the King had joined Plymouth against its wish to Massachusetts, he chose to keep Massachusetts and New Hampshire separate. This was ascribed to the influence of John Allen, who had bought the proprietorship of the soil in New Hampshire, and now obtained the governorship. New Hampshire had never had a charter, and none was granted to it now; but the government went on as before. The New England colonies which fared best at the Revolution were Connecticut and Rhode Island. Their charters were restored, so that they retained their old constitutions, and alone of all the colonies chose their own Governors. In 1690 and the two following years New England was engaged in a war with the French settlers in Canada and their Indian allies. But this was only part of a struggle between the French and English settlers which lasted, with one break, for more than twenty years, and it will therefore be better to tell of it in another chapter.

CHAPTER IX.

NEW ENGLAND AFTER THE REVOLUTION.

New England under William and Mary (1)—executions for witchcraft (2)—the French in Canada (3)—war between the French and English settlers (4)—peace with the Indians (5)—the New England charters in danger (6)—disputes in Massachusetts between the governor and the assembly (7)—Belcher's dismissal (8)—War with Canada (9)—the smaller New England colonies (10).

1. *New England under William and Mary.*—The charter just mentioned left some important points unsettled. It did not definitely decide whether the Acts of the English Parliament were to be in all cases binding on the colony, nor did it say whether the English Parliament had any power of taxing the colonists. The Court of Massachusetts tried to decide this latter point in their own favour. In 1692 they passed an Act declaring that no tax should be levied in the colony without the consent of the Court. To this law the English Government refused its assent. If it had passed, it would have saved many quarrels between the colonists and their Governors, in which the latter were always worsted, and it might have even prevented the separation of the colonies eighty-four years later. Connecticut soon found itself in opposition to the English Government. Colonel Fletcher, the Governor of New York, had a commission from the Crown giving him the command of the Connecticut militia. He did not wish to use this himself, but merely to assert his right, and then to transfer the commission to the Governor of Connecticut. The Court of Connecticut objected to this, and contended that such a commission was contrary to their

charter. Fletcher entered the country to enforce his commission. Captain Wadsworth, the same man who was said to have hidden the charter, was in command of the militia. When Fletcher ordered his commission to be read, Wadsworth commanded the drums to beat, so that no one could hear the commission. Fletcher ordered them to stop, whereupon Wadsworth threatened him with violence. A mob soon assembled, and Fletcher thought it prudent to retreat. It seems strange that he should have suffered himself to be so easily baffled, yet he does not appear to have made any further attempt to enforce his orders. But though he did not succeed in appointing an officer in Connecticut, he still had the right of giving orders as commander-in-chief; and the people of Connecticut declared that he revenged himself by issuing troublesome and harassing orders. New Hampshire soon afterwards showed a like spirit of independence. Allen, the new Governor, got into a dispute with several persons, who had settled on the lands that he claimed. The New Hampshire Court decided against him. He then appealed to the King. The Colonial Government refused to admit this appeal, but their refusal was overruled by the King. In 1697 Lord Bellomont was appointed Governor of New York, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire. He was sensible, conciliatory, and popular; but, unhappily, he died in 1700, little more than a year after his arrival. During his governorship the Board of Trade, to which the management of colonial affairs had been handed over, sent out a letter warning him against the desire of the colonists for independence, and especially dwelling on their misconduct in not allowing appeals to the King. Bellomont was succeeded by Joseph Dudley, who had been Governor under James II. He was soon engaged in disputes with the Assembly, in all of which he was worsted. He claimed the right of annulling the election of a councillor. Nevertheless the councillor kept

his seat. In 1705 Dudley laid before the Assembly two points, on which he had special instructions from the English Government. These were—1, The establishment of two forts, one on the Piscataqua, the other at Pemaquid, a spot on the coast near Acadia; 2, The allotment by the Court of a fixed salary to the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, and Judges. The Assembly refused to entertain either of these proposals; the former, because the forts would be useless to the colony; the latter, because the means of the colonists varied from time to time, and because it was the right of English subjects to raise by their own votes such sums of money as might be wanted. Dudley gave way on both points. He seems to have been a time-serving man, but not without regard for his fellow-countrymen, and with nothing of the tyrant in his nature, and so to have lacked both the wish and the power to constrain the settlers. Moreover, he was suspected of various acts of dishonesty, and so perhaps felt himself in the power of the Assembly.

2. Executions for Witchcraft.—Before going further it will be well to speak of some important matters which happened during the governorship of Dudley and his two predecessors. The New Englanders, like most people in those days, believed in witchcraft, and more than one person in the colony had been accused of it and put to death. The most noted case was that of an old woman, a Mrs. Hibbins, whose brother and husband had held high offices in Massachusetts, and who was hanged as a witch in 1655. In 1691 a panic seized the colony. Some children persuaded themselves that they were bewitched. The matter was taken up by one Cotton Mather, a minister. His father, Increase Mather, also a minister, was one of the ablest and boldest of those who had opposed Charles II. and James II. in their dealings with Massachusetts. The son, Cotton, was a vain pushing man, with some learning, but no wisdom. En-

couraged by him and another influential minister, Parris, the children accused upwards of seventy people, many of them of high station and unblemished character. The whole colony was carried away by the panic, and twenty people were put to death on utterly trumped-up evidence. This madness, for such it seemed, went away as suddenly as it came. In 1692, when fifty people were brought up for trial, all but three were acquitted, and these three were pardoned by the Governor. Some of the children afterwards confessed that they had done wrong, but neither Mather nor Parris ever showed any sign of repentance. This affair seems to have done something to weaken the influence of the ministers in Massachusetts, and for the future we hear much less of them in public affairs.

3. *The French in Canada.*—The accession of William III. at once engaged the New England colonists in war with the French settlers in Canada. They had for a long while been growing into dangerous neighbours. At this time their regular settlements were confined to the peninsula of Acadia, the island of Cape Breton, and the north side of the river St. Lawrence, as far as Montreal. All the land between the northern frontier of New England and the St. Lawrence, now called Maine and New Brunswick, seems to have been then uninhabited. Thus between the English and French settlements was a belt of wild forest, about two hundred miles broad, inhabited only by savages. The whole population of the French settlements at this time was less than twelve thousand, while that of New England and New York together was about one hundred thousand. The chief resource of the French settlers was the fur trade with the Indians. That which really might have been the most valuable part of their possession, Acadia, was utterly neglected, and only contained some five hundred settlers. Although it lay conveniently for the Newfoundland fisheries, and also for an attack on New England, it was bandied backwards and

forwards between England and France. In 1654 Cromwell took it from the French; Charles II. restored it by the treaty of Breda in 1677; and, as we shall see, it changed hands three times in the next eighty years. From 1628 to 1663 the French colony was under the control of a company. Under this system the settlers fared so ill, and were so hard pressed by the Indians, that they would at one time have abandoned the country but for the energy of the Jesuit missionaries. In 1663 the company were so disheartened by the poor results that they surrendered the colony to the King. He wished to hand it over to the French West India Company, but they declined it. He then sent out a Governor, the Marquis of Tracy, who by his energy and courage drove back the hostile Indians, and saved the colony from destruction. From that time things seem to have gone on somewhat better. The settlements gradually extended westward up the St. Lawrence, and in 1671 a pillar bearing a cross and the French arms was set up at the Falls of St. Mary, between Lake Superior and Lake Huron. Unlike the New England settlers, who stood aloof from the Indians and lived together in compact settlements, the French established small outposts in the Indian country, which were at once forts, trading-houses, and mission stations. The Jesuit missionaries were generally in charge of those stations, and braved every danger and underwent all hardships in the hope of converting the Indians. At the same time they seem to have done little towards controlling their converts, and even to have encouraged them in their raids on the English and on their Indian enemies. The French settlers, living in this way in scattered groups among the Indians, learned to suit themselves to their ways, and married among them; and thus acquired far more influence over them than the English ever did. It is even said that Count Frontenac, a French nobleman, the Governor of Canada just before the invasion of New England, went

among the Indians and joined in their war-dance, like one of their own chiefs. Luckily for the English, the French settlers were somewhat unfortunate in their choice of Indian allies. The natives whom they first met with were the Hurons and the Abenakis. Both these tribes seem to have been enemies to the Mohawks, who were much the stronger race. Thus from the outset the French were on bad terms with the most powerful of all the Indian tribes.

4. War between the French and English Settlers.— Though there was no open hostility between the French and English settlers before 1688, there were disputes about boundaries. For, though their settlements were separated by a tract of wilderness, each nation asserted its right to lands beyond those which it actually occupied, and the French, as they spread towards the west, were accused of encroaching on the territory of New York. Each nation too suspected the other of underhand designs. One Castine, a French baron, had an outlying station at the mouth of the Penobscot. Here he lived like a savage chief, with several Indian wives. He, it was thought, had supplied Philip with arms and ammunition during his war with New England. The French made like complaints against the inhabitants of New York. In 1687 a treaty was signed between France and England whereby it was agreed that the colonists of the two nations should keep the peace towards each other, and that neither should assist the Indians in their attacks on the other. This treaty was not likely to have much effect, as it was impossible for either side to restrain their Indian allies, and their misconduct might at any time give a pretext for war. In the same year the Governor of Canada treacherously seized a number of Mohawk chiefs at a conference, and shipped them to France for galley slaves. The Mohawks retaliated by invading Canada. They were assisted, it is said, in this invasion by Dongan, the Governor of New York. In revenge for this the French Government

in 1689 sent out an expedition against New York. Frontenac, who was now appointed Governor of Canada, was in command of this. He made preparations for a great attack by land and sea. The fleet however was hindered by storms, and Frontenac reached Canada too late in the season to do anything by land. He found his colony suffering from an attack of the Mohawks, the fiercest they had yet made. Although the French were unable to carry out their scheme against Canada this year, their allies made raids into New Hampshire and Massachusetts, and did great harm to the settlers. In this year (1689) war was declared between France and England. Accordingly in 1690 Frontenac made ready for a great invasion of the English territory. In February he sent out three parties of Indians to attack the English settlements at three different points. One attacked New York, another New Hampshire, the third Canseau, a settlement on the coast of Maine. The English did not believe that it was possible for their enemies to make their way through the forests in winter, and so were utterly unprepared. All three expeditions were successful, that against New York most so. The Indians fell on Schenectady, a frontier town of some importance, utterly destroyed it, and killed and captured about a hundred of the inhabitants. In their distress, the English colonists, at the suggestion of the Massachusetts Government, held a congress of the Northern colonies. New York, Massachusetts, and Connecticut sent each two commissioners, who met at the city of New York. Maryland and Rhode Island did not send commissioners, but promised to assist in an expedition. It was determined to invade Canada. Nine hundred men, of whom four hundred came from New York, were sent out under Winthrop, son of the former Governor of Connecticut, to attack Montreal by land, while a fleet, with about eighteen hundred men on board, sailed against Quebec. Unluckily the Mohawks, on whose help

the English had reckoned, refused to join them in any numbers. Thus the land force was unable to carry out its plan. The fleet fared no better. It was beaten off, partly by the batteries of Quebec, partly by bad weather, and the whole expedition was a failure. Its only effect was to make bad blood between the different English settlements. Leisler, the Governor of New York, a rash, hot-headed, man, was so enraged that he arrested Winthrop and other leading men from Connecticut, and would have tried them at New York by court-martial but for the remonstrance of the Connecticut Government. As some set-off against this, a small English fleet under Sir William Phipps conquered Acadia. It was however retaken the next year. For the next five years the war consisted mainly of raids on the frontiers, in which the French Indians inflicted great suffering on the English, and the Mohawks on the French. During this period the English made a change in their mode of defence. Hitherto they had relied chiefly on regular forts along the frontier. But they found that in the woods these were of little use, as the savages, who knew the country, had no difficulty in making their way between them. Accordingly they established instead small parties along the frontier, which moved from point to point and did far more service. In 1693 the French made great preparations for a general attack on New England by sea and land. But they found it impossible to victual their fleet for so long a voyage, and had to content themselves with conquering Newfoundland. In the next year the French Indians penetrated farther into the English territory than they had yet done and attacked Andover, a village only twenty-five miles from Boston. In the same year, the peace of Ryswick put an end to the war. By this peace no definite settlement was made as to the boundaries between the French and English settlements. For five years, between this peace and the declaration of war in the reign of Queen Anne, the colonies

were at peace. During this time the French sought to establish an alliance with the Mohawks. In 1701 a treaty was made at Montreal by the French and three of the chief Canadian tribes, the Hurons, the Abenakis and the Ottawas, with the five Mohawk nations. The French however were too poor, and had too little trade, for their friendship to be much valued by the Mohawks. Moreover, the French could not make their own allies keep the treaty. Thus the Mohawks, except a few outlying villages, returned to their alliance with the English. At the same time they were much less zealous and serviceable allies than the French Indians. The latter really valued their French allies and fought for them zealously, while the Mohawks only cared for the English as a useful check upon the French. Their policy was to have as little as possible to do with either nation, and to befriend those who were least likely to interfere with them, or to trespass on their country. Indeed the English had so little faith in the Mohawks that, a few years later, when an English force in Canada suffered greatly from sickness, they believed that their Indian allies had poisoned the wells. In 1702 war again broke out. By land the operations were much what they had been in the previous war. Parties of savages from either side made raids across the frontier, destroying villages and carrying off prisoners. The brunt of this war fell especially on New Hampshire and Massachusetts; while New York, whose frontiers were covered by the Mohawk country, for the most part escaped. The English during this war made three attempts to recover Acadia. In 1704 a force of five hundred and fifty men was sent out in a fleet of whale-boats for this purpose, but did absolutely nothing. Three years later the attempt was renewed, and again failed. In both of these expeditions there seems to have been a general and well-founded feeling of dissatisfaction with the leaders. Indeed, it is said, that, after the second, the chief officers would have been tried by court-

martial, but that so many were accused that there were not enough left to sit in judgment. It was thought too that many of the New Englanders secretly favoured the Acadians for the sake of trading with them. Dudley himself was suspected of this, and in 1706 six leading men were prosecuted on this charge before the Court of Massachusetts and fined various sums, from 1,100*l.* to 60*l.* Their sentence however was annulled by the Crown. In 1710 a more successful attempt was made. A force of more than three thousand men attacked Port Royal, the chief fort in Acadia. Subercas, the French commander, had only three hundred men. Moreover, he felt ill-used at the feeble support given him by the French Government, and had no heart for a stout resistance, and so yielded. The English, in honour of the Queen, changed the name of the place to Annapolis. In the next year a great expedition was planned against Canada. A fleet of fifteen men-of-war was sent from England with five thousand soldiers. These were to be joined by two regiments of New England militia, making the whole force up to nearly seven thousand. This army was considered fully strong enough to take Quebec. In June the Massachusetts Government received orders to provide pilots and a supply of provisions for the fleet. Sixteen days later the fleet itself arrived. Considerable delay and difficulty occurred in finding supplies. The blame of this was laid by the English commander on the sloth, stinginess, and disloyalty of the New Englanders, while they, on the other hand, declared that they had done all they could, but that unfairly short notice had been given them. This probably was true. It is even said that the people of Boston were so far from being backward in the matter that many families lived wholly on salt food in order that the troops might be properly supplied. Nevertheless, the complaints found their way to England and did as much harm as if they had been true. The expedition itself was an

utter failure. The fleet ran on the rocks near the mouth of the St. Lawrence, and eight or nine ships and more than a thousand men were lost. The commanders, disheartened by this, and despairing of getting up the river, returned home. The blame of the failure was laid by some on the admiral, Sir Hoveden Walker, by others on the Boston pilots. After its return the admiral's ship blew up at Spithead, and his papers, which might have helped to clear up the affair, were lost. One advantage had ensued from this expedition. It had withheld the French from an attempt to recover Annapolis, and as the English garrison there was weak, such an attempt would probably have succeeded. Next year peace was signed at Utrecht. This peace gave Acadia to England, but it did not determine what the north-east boundary of Acadia should be; consequently the unoccupied country between the Kennebec and the St. Lawrence was still left to be a future source of dispute. In one way this war did a great deal to bring the colonies into discredit with the mother country. The frontier warfare, in which the colonists showed great courage and defended their country successfully, was scarcely heard of by the English. It was not marked by any brilliant exploits, and thus little or nothing was known of it in England. But the regular attacks on the French coast all came under the notice of the English Government, and the colonists were blamed, not only for their own shortcomings, but for the failures of the English commanders. Thus they got an ill name in England for slackness and disloyalty, and even cowardice, which their general conduct throughout the war in no way deserved.

5. Peace with the Indians.—The peace of Utrecht did not end the war with the Indians. The settlers on the frontier suffered so much that, about this time, the New Hampshire Government offered a reward of 100% for an Indian prisoner, or the scalp of an Indian. One French settlement was

especially obnoxious to the English. This was an outpost called Norridgewock, about three days' march from the northern frontier of Massachusetts. This was managed by Sebastian Rallé, a Jesuit, one of the bravest and most successful of the French missionaries. He built a chapel there, and got together a congregation of sixty Indians, whom he regularly trained to take part in the services of the Church. He does not however seem to have attempted to restrain their ferocity against the English, but rather to have inflamed it, and was said to have even abetted their cruelties with his own hands. In 1713 a party from New England destroyed the settlement. Rallé fled, leaving his goods and papers in their hands. Next year another attack was made, in which he was killed. In 1725 the Court of Massachusetts proposed that commissioners should be sent from the five English colonies north of the Hudson to remonstrate with the Governor of Canada on his conduct in aiding the Indians. New Hampshire alone consented. A deputation was sent to Canada, and at the same time the English began to treat with the Indians. The French Governor, the Marquis of Vaudreuil, said that the Indians merely fought in defence of their own lands, and not in obedience to him. The English then produced letters found at Norridgewock, which proved the contrary. They also brought forward an Indian whom the Governor had furnished with arms and ammunition to be used against the English. The Governor tried to make excuses, but the deputies stood their ground, and their firmness withheld him from any attempt to break off the negotiations between the English and the Indians. In 1725 peace was made at Falmouth. The English promised to abolish all private trade, and to establish trading-houses under the control of the Massachusetts Government, where the Indians would be supplied better and more cheaply than by private traders. Thus, after more than thirty years of war, the New

England frontier enjoyed a long term of peace. This long struggle had a great effect in accustoming the New Englanders to all the shifts and dangers of war in a savage country. Every one on the New England frontiers had to be perforce a soldier. It would be endless to tell all the feats of daring performed by the settlers. Even the women learned to use weapons and face dangers and accomplish exploits, which would have shown no little courage, even if done by men. One woman, Hannah Dunster, was carried off by the Indians with a young lad. In the night, while the Indians slept, the prisoners rose, killed and scalped the whole party, save two, and made their way back to the English settlement. One village was attacked while all the men were away. The women dressed themselves in men's coats and hats, lest the weakness of the place should be known, and kept up so hot a fire that the Indians retreated. One undoubtedly evil effect was produced by these wars. Just as in the case of Philip's war, the colonists became so infuriated against the Indians that they scarcely distinguished between friend and foe. Thus in New Hampshire it was for many years impossible to get any jury to convict an Englishman for the murder of an Indian.

6. *The New England Charters in danger.*—For some years after the Revolution, the New England charters seemed to be in danger. In 1701 a bill was brought forward in Parliament for withdrawing them. This however fell through. Three years later the proposal was renewed. Connecticut, having the most liberal charter, was naturally the most alarmed. The other colonies seem to have taken the matter more quietly, and the Connecticut charter was made the chief subject of contest. Dudley, the Governor of Massachusetts, and Lord Cornbury, the Governor of New York, were its chief opponents. Dudley was a personal enemy to many of the chief men in Connecticut, and Lord Cornbury had been refused 450*l.* which he had demanded from Connecticut for

the defence of his own colony. The Government of Connecticut was accused of harbouring pirates and other criminals ; of setting at naught the laws of England and disobeying the Queen's officers ; of refusing to contribute to the defence of New England, and of robbing some Indians of their land. Luckily for the colony, Sir Henry Ashurst, its agent in England, was a man of great energy. By his representations and those of the counsel whom he employed, Connecticut was cleared of all the charges brought against it. Ten years later the charters were again threatened. They were defended by Jeremiah Dummer, a leading citizen of Massachusetts, a man of moderate views, who was afterwards Lieutenant-Governor. He represented that the loss of the charters and the consequent danger of arbitrary government would be a great blow to the welfare of the colonies ; that anything which weakened the colonies would also affect the West Indies, which obtained many of their supplies thence, and so would injure the mother country. He laughed at the idea of some who fancied that the colonists were aiming at independence, and said that it would be as reasonable to set two of the King's beef-eaters to keep a baby from getting out of its cradle and doing mischief as to guard against a rebellion in America. His arguments prevailed, and the attack on the charters was abandoned.

7. Disputes in Massachusetts between the Governor and the Assembly.—In 1715, Dudley was succeeded in the governorship of Massachusetts by Colonel Shute. During his term of office and that of the two next Governors, the history of Massachusetts is one long series of contests between the Governor and the Assembly. The chief subject of these disputes was the steadfast refusal of the Assembly to grant the Governor a fixed salary. They insisted on voting him such a sum as they thought fit from year to year, and so making him dependent on them. There were besides smaller subjects of

difference which helped to embitter matters. The contest about the salary had, as we have seen, begun in the time of Dudley. He failed to carry his point. For the first four years of Shute's government things went on quietly. In 1720 he claimed the right of rejecting a Speaker chosen by the Assembly. They resisted, but at length so far gave way as to elect another Speaker. At the same time they reduced the Governor's half-yearly salary from 500*l.* to 400*l.* Shute passed over this without notice, but, when it was repeated, he told them that he had orders from the Crown to obtain a fixed salary. The Assembly asked leave to postpone the question, and the Governor granted this. The next year the Assembly refused to vote any salaries till they knew whether the Governor had given his consent to the Acts which they had passed. When they had done their business they asked leave to rise, but the Governor refused to allow this. They then rose without leave. The Council voted this an irregular proceeding. When they next met, they got into a high dispute. The small-pox broke out at Boston, and it was unsafe for the Assembly to meet there. Accordingly they decided to meet elsewhere. The Governor considered this an encroachment on his rights. He did not wish to force them to sit in Boston, but he objected to the matter being taken out of his hands. Soon after this he produced letters from the English Government, approving of his conduct about the election of a Speaker. The Assembly still asserted its right, and there the matter rested. In 1726, Shute was succeeded by William Burnet, whose father, Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, had been a well-known writer and a leading supporter of William III. The new Governor was received with great pomp and every expression of good-will. Nevertheless, the representatives were as firm as before in the matter of the salary. To show that this was not done out of any personal ill-will to Burnet, they voted him a grant of 1,700*l.* This he refused, and

insisted on a fixed salary. The Council tried to take a middle course, and proposed that a fixed salary should be granted but for a limited time. The Assembly however refused even this concession. In their own defence they drew up a paper setting forth their reasons. The principal of these were, that it was "the undoubted right of all Englishmen by Magna Charta to raise and dispose of money for the public service of their own free accord without compulsion," and that it might "be deemed a betraying of the rights and privileges granted in the charter." Burnet answered that to admit the claims of the Assembly would throw the whole government into their hands. Moreover he said that it had never been considered unsafe in England to give the King an income for life. To this the Assembly answered that there was a great difference between the King, who had a permanent interest in the welfare of his subjects, and a Governor, who only came for a time. They pleaded too that it was impossible for them to usurp the whole government of the colony so long as the Governor and Council had each power to refuse their consent to laws. About this time the Assembly of Barbados was engaged in a like contest with the Governor there, and their example possibly served to encourage the people of Massachusetts. Things now came to a dead-lock. The Governor refused to dissolve the Assembly, and they were obliged to sit on, greatly to their inconvenience, while he would not take any money granted, since it did not come in the form of a fixed salary. The Assembly now resolved to lay their case before the English Government, and sent over two agents. The question was then brought before the Privy Council, which strongly supported Burnet, and advised that Parliament should attend to the matter. This however does not seem to have been done, or if it was, nothing came of it. In 1730 Burnet died. In spite of these disputes, the colonists liked and esteemed him, and the Assembly ordered a very honour-

able funeral at the public charge. His successor, Belcher, had been one of the two agents sent over by the Assembly to plead their cause in England. The English Government probably thought that his appointment would conciliate the colonists. At first it seemed likely to do so, and he was received with great joy. But it soon became clear that the old strife was to be renewed. The Assembly, as before, refused to vote a fixed salary. It was not easy for Belcher to fight successfully for a cause which he had once opposed. Moreover, he weakened his own position by his unfair conduct in some appointments to offices. In the next year Belcher gave way, and asked the English Government to allow him to accept the money granted him by the Assembly. Hitherto the Crown had ordered the Governor to get a fixed salary or to take nothing. This was now so far relaxed that Belcher was allowed to take the grant, although he was ordered still to demand the salary. By this concession the English Government acknowledged itself defeated, and in a few years afterwards it yielded altogether. Thus the Assembly carried the point for which they had been struggling for twenty-six years. Throughout these contests with the different Governors, Boston was always the chief stronghold of the colonial party. The influence of that party therefore was somewhat weakened by a law passed in 1694 that no man should represent any town in which he did not dwell. Thus the outlying towns which might otherwise have chosen eminent men from Boston, were obliged to put up with inferior men of their own, and only two of the leaders of the party at Boston could find seats in the Assembly. But, though in one way this weakened the influence of the Assembly, it must have made it more attentive to the wants of the smaller towns, and kept Boston from gaining an undue share of power, which it might otherwise have done.

8. *Belcher's Dismissal.* — Belcher's dismissal from the

governorship was brought about by means in nowise creditable to his enemies. Letters containing various charges against him were sent to England; some of these were anonymous, others were forged in the names of leading men in Massachusetts. The charges were at length cleared up, but they did Belcher no little harm with the English Government. His final dismissal, if the story of it be true, as it probably is, was disgraceful to all concerned. The ministry in England were very anxious that a certain member, Lord Euston, should be elected for Coventry. The dissenters were very strong in that town. One of the Massachusetts agents promised the prime minister, the Duke of Grafton, that he would secure Lord Euston's return on condition that Belcher was dismissed. This offer was accepted. The agent then told the Coventry dissenters that, if they secured Lord Euston's election, Belcher, who was trying to get the Church of England established in Massachusetts, and who was hostile to the Nonconformists, should be dismissed. The agreement was carried out on both sides.

9. War with Canada.—Under Belcher's successor, Shirley, war again broke out with the French in Canada. War was not declared between England and France in Europe, but English troops were fighting against the French, the former for the Queen of Hungary, the latter for the Elector of Bavaria. Thus war might at any moment break out between the colonists. In 1744 the French Governor of Cape Breton took Canseau, and threatened Annapolis, which was only saved by a reinforcement from Massachusetts. Some of the English prisoners from Canseau were sent to Louisburg, the chief fort of Cape Breton. When they were restored and returned to Massachusetts they told Shirley of certain weaknesses in the fortification of Louisburg, which would, they thought, lay it open to a surprise. The place would be of great value to England, as it commanded Acadia, the mouth of the St.

Lawrence, and Newfoundland. Shirley therefore made the bold proposal to the Assembly of attacking Louisburg in the winter, without waiting for help from England. The Assembly at first was utterly against it, but the matter got abroad and the project became very popular. It was again brought before the Assembly, which decided, though only by a majority of one vote, to attack the place. Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island, all joined in the expedition. The other colonies declined to assist. A force of about four thousand five hundred men was sent out in eight small vessels. On their way they were reinforced by four English ships. The French were quite unprepared, and allowed the enemy to land unopposed. The New Englanders had had no experience of any regular war since the peace of Utrecht, and were quite ignorant of scientific warfare. Thus they suffered losses in the siege which might easily have been avoided. The siege began in the last week of April. On the 18th of May a French ship, well supplied with stores, and with five hundred men on board, was taken by the English fleet on its way to relieve the garrison. A few days later the fleet was strengthened by the arrival of two more ships from England. On the 14th of June the French, believing that a general attack was about to be made, surrendered the place. This success was a great triumph for the colonists. A force, taken entirely from New England, under officers who had never seen service before, had performed a feat of which any army might have been proud. Besides capturing Louisburg, they probably saved their own country from invasion. A French fleet of seven ships was on its way to attack New England, when they heard of the capture of Louisburg, and gave over the attempt. Next year the French sent a fleet of seventy sail, among them fourteen ships of the line, with eight thousand soldiers on board, to attack the English colonies. At this time England was far too much taken up with its own troubles and the Jacobite insurrection to do much for the

help of its colonies. Had it not been for a series of mishaps which befell the French fleet, New England could hardly have escaped. But the ships met with storms, the chief officers fell sick and died, and the fleet sailed back to France without striking a blow. In 1746 the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle put an end to the war. To the great disappointment of the New Englanders, Louisburg was restored to the French. This war had no good effect on the relations between the colonists and the mother country. The former felt that their services had been held cheap, and that the English Government had left them unprotected. Each country, in fact, was too busy with its own affairs to pay much attention to the other, or to understand its difficulties. Such inconveniences must always be when two distant countries are under one Government.

10. *The Smaller New England Colonies.*—During all this time no important political events took place in Rhode Island or Connecticut. This quiet was probably due to their being left with the appointment of their own Governor. Thus they had no cause for discontent; and moreover they felt that anything like disorder might endanger their charters. In 1702 the disputes in New Hampshire between Mason's successors and the settlers on the land which they claimed was decided by a verdict in favour of the latter. The defeated side threatened to appeal to the English Government, but did not do so; and this matter, which had disturbed the colony for forty years, was at last at an end. During the time that the contest between the Governor and the Assembly had been raging in Massachusetts, New Hampshire obtained the favour of the English Government by granting the Governor a fixed salary. In 1727 an Act was passed that assemblies should be elected every three years. All voters were to have an estate of fifty pounds value. This Act was confirmed by the English Government, and henceforth served as a declaration of the constitution of New Hampshire.

CHAPTER X.

MARYLAND.

Grant of land to Lord Baltimore (1)—first settlement (2)—the constitution (3)—dissensions (4)—two parties in the colony (5)—the proprietor restored (6)—the colony after the restoration (7).

I. Grant of Land to Lord Baltimore.—All the colonies that we have considered hitherto, with one exception, were founded either by companies or by parties of settlers, and were under Governors chosen by themselves or appointed by the Crown. But, as we have seen in the case of Maine, there was another kind of colony, called proprietary. The first of these was Maryland, founded in 1632 by Lord Baltimore. His father, George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore, was a convert to Romanism and an adherent and personal friend of James I. and afterwards of Charles I. Thus he easily obtained a grant of land for a colony. His first attempt was in Newfoundland. A settlement had already been formed there by some Bristol men in 1612. No success followed Lord Baltimore's attempt. The climate was severe, his health failed, and he was annoyed on account of his religion by the neighbouring colonists, who seem to have been Puritans. In 1629 he left Newfoundland and went to Virginia; but the Virginians, who were strong Protestants, gave him an unfriendly reception, and he left the colony. He then applied for a grant of land to the south of James River, within the bounds of Virginia. This however was resisted by some leading Virginians, and the scheme was given up. Finally he obtained a grant of land on both sides of the River Potomac, to the north of Virginia, taking in a large portion of the soil included by the Virginia charter. This charter had

been annulled, and it might be held that the right over the soil returned to the King. At the same time it would have been evidently unjust to grant away any land again which settlers had occupied trusting to the original Virginia charter. There was however no such injustice in granting lands which had been included by that charter, provided that the settlers had not yet occupied them, and Baltimore's grant was strictly limited to unoccupied lands. The country was to be called Maryland, in honour of the Queen Henrietta Maria. The charter granted to Baltimore made him almost an independent sovereign. With the assistance of the freemen of the colony he could make laws, which were to be as far as possible in accordance with the laws of England, but did not require to be confirmed by the King. He had also power to appoint judges and public officers, and to pardon criminals. One very important concession was made ; no tax was to be levied by the English Crown. This charter merely fixed the relations between the Crown and the proprietor ; it did not settle anything as to those between the proprietor and the settlers, beyond ordering that they should be called together to make laws. Everything beyond this was left to be arranged between Baltimore and the colonists.

2. *First Settlement.*—Before the charter was finally executed, Baltimore died. The grant however was continued to his son and successor, Cecilius Calvert. In 1632 he sent out about two hundred settlers, under his brother, Leonard Calvert. Though Baltimore himself was a Roman Catholic, he does not seem to have had any idea of confining his settlement to that religion, and many of those who sailed were Protestants. Early in 1633 the settlers landed at the mouth of the Potomac. By good luck they lighted on an Indian town, from which a large number of the inhabitants had just fled for fear of a neighbouring tribe. Those who remained received the settlers hospitably, accepted some presents, and

granted the English the empty part of the town. Unhappily, the colonists had other and less friendly neighbours to deal with. A Virginian, one Clayborne, had established a station at a place called the Isle of Kent, further up the river, for trade with the Indians. The territory came within the bounds of Baltimore's grant, and Governor Calvert considered that he was not bound to regard such a settlement as inhabited land, and consequently that he had a right to occupy it. Clayborne resisted his attempt to take possession of it, and a fight followed, in which one Marylander and three Virginians were killed. The question was referred to the Privy Council, but no definite decision was given, and the matter was left to become a source of dispute in future times.

3. *The Constitution.*—The colony soon throve and increased. During the first two years, Baltimore, it is said, spent 40,000*l.* on the exportation of emigrants and in supplying the colony with necessaries. Notwithstanding this, he had some difficulties with the settlers. The charter, as we have seen, did not fix the relations between them; and Baltimore himself does not seem to have drawn up any constitution for the colony. The nearest approach to this was the commission by which he appointed Leonard Calvert governor. This gave him power to call assemblies, to confirm or annul the laws passed by them, to make grants of land, and to sit as judge in criminal and civil cases. But the exact division of power between the Governor and the Assembly was not settled, and consequently for some time there was great danger of each asserting claims which the other would not admit. This evil too was increased by the fact of the proprietor being of a different religion from many of the settlers. This however was less important than it might have been, inasmuch as Lord Baltimore never seems to have made the slightest attempt to press Romanism

on the colonists, or indeed to have troubled himself in any way about their religious condition. As in Massachusetts, the Assembly was at first a primary one, and consisted of the whole body of freemen. In the same way too the inconvenience of the system was soon felt, and a Representative Assembly was substituted. The process of change however was not exactly the same. In Massachusetts, as we have seen, a Representative Assembly grew up side by side with the original assembly of all the freemen, and finally ousted it; but in Maryland the primary assembly gradually changed into a representative one. At first many of the settlers found it inconvenient to attend, and sent proxies, that is, gave their neighbours power to vote for them. From this it was an easy step to allow each county to send two proxies or representatives. But for some time the two systems were mixed up, and those who were dissatisfied with the result of the election were allowed to attend the Assembly themselves. After the representative system was definitely established, the proprietor exercised the right of summoning any persons he pleased to the Assembly, to sit with the representatives. This right, if freely used, would have thrown the whole power into the hands of the proprietor, since he could fill the Assembly with his nominees. As, however, in about ten or twelve years the Assembly was divided, as in Virginia, into two Houses—the lower formed of the representatives, and the upper of the councillors and the proprietor's nominees—this power was of no great importance, nor does it seem to have been largely exercised. The want of a fixed constitution was soon felt. It was ordered by the charter that the proprietor and the freemen should make laws; but nothing was said as to the way in which this power was to be divided, and what was to be done in case of a difference of opinion. In a long-established government, such as that of England, the absence of written regulations on a point of this sort matters

but little, as some settled usage is sure to have grown up which is fully as binding as any law ; but in a new country the want of a fixed regulation could not fail to be felt. This soon happened. The Governor acting for the proprietor, and the Assembly, each proposed laws, and in each case the laws proposed by the one were refused by the other. At last it was settled by a compromise, in which the proprietor made the chief concessions. These disputes did not interfere with the good feeling which existed between Baltimore and the settlers. This is shown by the fact that the Assembly voluntarily granted the proprietor a subsidy, to be raised by a poll-tax, to repay him in some degree for ail that he had spent on the colony. By this act of courtesy and good-will to Lord Baltimore, the Assembly also asserted that the right of levying taxes belonged to them rather than to the proprietor, a point on which the charter said nothing.

4. Dissensions.—We see that there were three subjects out of which difficulties might arise ; Clayborne's claim to the Isle of Kent, the limits of the power of the Assembly, and the difference of religion between the proprietor and the settlers. For this was an age in which difference of religion was almost sure to lead to active hostility, since there was scarcely a single sect which was content to be merely tolerated, but each sought to force others to join it, and none more so than the Puritan party, to which many of the influential Marylanders belonged. The outbreak of the civil war in England was the signal for all these causes of quarrel to come into action. Clayborne thought that he was likely to get that redress from the Parliament which was refused him by the King, and the settlers who opposed Baltimore in religion and politics naturally seized the opportunity given them by the success of their friends at home. Accordingly, soon after the outbreak of the civil war in England, disturbance in Maryland began. In 1645 one

Richard Ingle, being suspected of treasonable practices, was arrested, but escaped before he could be brought to trial. Soon after, he was sent out by Parliament in a ship with letters of marque to cruise on the American coast. Although his commission does not seem to have entitled him to meddle with Maryland, he landed there, and headed an insurrection against the Governor. Great disorders ensued, and those who remained loyal to the proprietor were cruelly plundered. But the insurgents did not succeed in overthrowing the established government, and Parliament does not appear to have approved of their proceedings. When the Parliament got the upper hand in England, Baltimore felt that it was advisable to conciliate that party. Although a Roman Catholic and a friend of the King, he does not seem to have been zealous in either cause. His policy throughout was that of a man whose chief aim was to keep his proprietorship and the advantages which it brought him, at the same time interfering as little as possible with the wishes of the settlers. As early as 1641 a complaint had been made in Parliament that Maryland was practically an independent State, likely to strengthen Romanism and to injure the Protestant cause. In consequence of this, Baltimore had written to the Jesuit priests settled in Maryland, warning them that he could not protect them against the laws of England, or grant them any special immunity. In the same spirit, at the death of his brother in 1648, he appointed as governor William Stone, a Protestant, and believed to be well affected to the Parliament. At the same time, with a view to protecting his fellow-religionists, he compelled Stone to take an oath not to molest Romanists, or to keep them out of office.

5. *Two Parties in the Colony.*—For the next two years the relations between the different parties in the colony, and between the proprietor and the Assembly, seem to have been

friendly. An Act was passed granting full toleration to all religions. At the same time blasphemy, Sabbath-breaking by games and the like, and the use of abusive names for any sect, were strictly forbidden. This law may be looked upon as a sort of compromise between the two parties. The Roman Catholics, who were the weaker body, would ask for toleration, but the prohibition of Sunday games is quite sure to have come from the Puritans. Another Act was passed by which the right of levying taxes was definitely granted to the Assembly. About this time the Puritan party was reinforced by a number of emigrants from Virginia. It is possible that they had found their way in gradually, but in 1649 they first appear as forming a separate settlement, called Providence. In the next year they returned a member to the Assembly. But though the Puritan party was thus strengthened, the Assembly allowed Baltimore to impose an oath of allegiance on all the settlers, a measure which they had refused to pass a year before. In the next year the commissioners sent out by Parliament to subdue the colonies in Chesapeake bay, after they had reduced Virginia, proceeded to Maryland. They demanded that the colonists should promise to be faithful to the Commonwealth, and that the name of "the keepers of the liberties of England" should be substituted for that of "the proprietor" in all legal documents. The first condition was readily accepted; but Stone demurred to the second, considering it an infringement of the proprietor's rights. Accordingly he was deposed. The commissioners however finding that he was popular with the colonists, and not ill-affected to the Parliament, came to terms with him by some concession on each side, and he was restored as Governor. For the next two years things went on smoothly. But in 1654 Baltimore sent out instructions to Stone to demand an oath of fidelity to the proprietor from all the colonists; all who refused were to be

banished. This was considered, not unfairly, a violation of the terms on which Stone had submitted. The Puritan party rose; the commissioners, Bennett and Clayborne, were recalled from Virginia; and Stone was again deposed. Stone resisted; he raised a small force, and for a while seemed in a fair way to be master of the colony. But the Puritans also took up arms, and an engagement followed in which Stone was defeated, and fifty of his followers killed. By this victory the colony came for a while under the power of the Puritans.

6. *The Proprietor restored.*—In the meantime Clayborne and his party had seized the opportunity given them by the ascendancy of Parliament to renew their claims to the land included in Baltimore's patent, but which they professed to have occupied. The matter was referred to the Commissioners for Plantations, but their consideration of it was repeatedly postponed, and there is no trace to be found of any decision having been given. At the same time the English Government was engaged in considering the validity of Lord Baltimore's proprietary rights. The question was referred to a body called the Commissioners for Trade. Baltimore had already endeavoured to ingratiate himself with the ruling party, by representing that Maryland was the only colony, besides those of New England, that had readily submitted to the Parliament, and that it would be both unfair and unjust to join it to a royalist colony like Virginia. While the case was still before the commissioners, Baltimore seems to have made an attempt to recover his authority by granting a commission as Governor to one Fendal, an unprincipled and intriguing man. Fendal, however, was at once arrested by the Parliamentary leaders, fortunately perhaps for Lord Baltimore, since he had not time, by any act of violence, to bring the cause of the proprietor into discredit. In 1656 the Commissioners for Trade reported in

favour of the restoration of the proprietor. This recommendation required to be adopted by the Government before it could take effect. Nevertheless, Baltimore, without waiting for this, sent out his brother, Philip Calvert, with instructions to establish Fendal as Governor. Thus there were in the colony two governments, each claiming legitimate power. In the next year Bennett and Matthews, the Parliamentary leaders, finding that Baltimore was sure to be restored, came to terms with him. They handed over the government to him, on the conditions that all offences committed since the disturbances began should be tried, not by the proprietor, but by the English Government; that none should forfeit their land for the part they had taken; and that all of the Puritan party who wished to leave the country should have a year in which to do so. On these conditions Baltimore was restored. Though the English Government does not seem to have given any final decision in his favour, yet it seems to have accepted the report of the commissioners, and no attempt was made to interfere with the authority of the proprietor.

7. *The Colony after the Restoration.*—In 1662 Lord Baltimore sent over his son, Charles Calvert, as Governor. Under him the colony soon recovered from the effect of its late troubles. By 1655 it contained sixteen thousand inhabitants. In 1676 Charles Calvert succeeded to his father's title and proprietorship. In 1681 he passed a law limiting the right of voting to those who had freeholds of fifty acres, or other property of forty pounds value. Perhaps in consequence of this, an insurrection broke out, headed by Fendal. This was subdued before serious mischief could follow. Under James II. the proprietor's charter was threatened, and would probably have been taken away but for the Revolution. After the Revolution the proprietor, being a Roman Catholic, was deprived of all political rights

in the colony, though he was allowed to keep his proprietary rights over the soil. His successor turned Protestant in 1715, and was restored to his full rights as proprietor. After the Revolution several harsh measures were passed against Roman Catholics. Besides the laws in force in England against the public celebration of the Roman Catholic religion, which were held to apply to the colony, an Act was passed by the Assembly imposing a duty on all Irish servants imported, with the view of preventing the introduction of Roman Catholics. This seemed especially harsh in a colony which had been founded by a Roman Catholic, and where, under his government, all sects had enjoyed equal freedom. In 1704 these restrictions were so far lessened that Roman Catholic priests were allowed to celebrate worship in private houses. In their industry, commerce, and mode of life the Marylanders resembled their neighbours in Virginia. In one respect they were more fortunate. Though they did not altogether avoid quarrels with the Indians, yet there were no serious wars. While the records of Virginia are filled with discussions and resolutions concerning the defence of the colony against the savages, we find very little of this in the history of Maryland. The Susquehannas, the tribe with whom the Virginians were engaged in one of their most serious wars, were the chief enemies of Maryland. Their attacks were mostly confined to the frontiers, and they do not seem ever to have endangered the interior of the colony. As in Virginia, Acts were passed protecting the Indians from being enslaved or otherwise ill treated by the planters. So greatly was the authority of the English respected by the Indians in Maryland, that in 1663 a chief who was placed at the head of a league of tribes thought it well to get the formal consent of the English Governor to his election.

CHAPTER XI.

NEW YORK.

Settlement of New Netherlands (1)—the constitution (2)—dealings with the Indians and the Swedes (3)—the English conquest (4)—New York under James II. (5)—the revolution and Leisler's insurrection (6)—the colony after the revolution (7)—contest between the governor and assembly (8)—general condition (9).

I. Settlement of New Netherlands.—As we have seen, Virginia and Maryland were separated from New England by the Dutch colony of New Netherlands. As that colony became an English possession, and afterwards one of the United States, it is needful that we should know something of its early history. It was, like Virginia, under the government of a corporation, the Dutch West India Company. The whole management of the colony was entrusted to this company, and the Dutch Government only kept the right of annulling the appointment of colonial officers. The company was also bound to inform the Government from time to time as to the state of the colony. Unlike the English settlements, New Netherlands depended more on trade than agriculture. One result of this was that, for convenience in dealing with the Indians, the settlers spread inland along the Hudson, and not along the coast. Thus, while New Netherlands nominally reached from the mouth of the Hudson to that of the Delaware, the whole coast between these two rivers was left unoccupied. Besides the settlements along the Hudson, there were several in the southern part of Long Island, which lies opposite the coast between the Hudson and the Connecticut. The company

itself did little in the way of sending out emigrants, but left that to a class of landed proprietors called patroons. These patroons held estates under the company, which they settled with emigrants whom they fitted out and sent over. They might purchase estates of unlimited extent on the one condition of sending out fifty settlers. They might found townships, and appoint officers and magistrates for them. Within their own boundaries they tried all cases, and had power of life and death. By the laws the settlers were allowed to appeal to the company, but this right was practically of little value, as the patroons generally made the emigrants agree to give up this right before they went out. Thus the colony consisted of a number of small separate States, each governed by a single man. In 1640 another class of settlers was admitted. Every one who went out accompanied by five other emigrants was allowed two hundred acres of land, and was to be independent of the patroons. This provided the colony with a class of yeomen much like those of the New England colonies. The system of patroons does not seem to have answered, and, before the colony passed into the hands of the English, they seem to have died out. As long as it lasted the system gave rise to much difficulty and many disputes. The patroons had disputes with the company as to the limits of their power, and with private traders as to their right of trading in any patroon's country without a licence from him. Partly owing to these disputes, and partly to the folly of Kieft, the Governor, who involved the colony in a needless war with the Indians, for the first twenty years New Netherlands did not prosper. When Stuyvesant came out in 1647, he only found three hundred men able to bear arms. Under his government things improved. By 1664 the population had increased to ten thousand; the chief place, New Amsterdam, had become a flourishing town, with fifteen hundred inhabitants. The settlers were not all Dutch. Like

Holland itself, New Netherlands was the chosen refuge of men persecuted in their own countries for their religion. Besides the Dutch there were Puritans from England, French Huguenots from Rochelle, Waldenses and Walloons. The Waldenses were Protestants from the south-east of France and from Piedmont, who had suffered severe persecutions, chiefly from the Dukes of Savoy. The Walloons were Roman Catholics from the Netherlands. They and the Huguenots were so numerous that public documents were sometimes written in French as well as in Dutch. There were too some Swedish settlers on the Delaware. At a later time it was said that eighteen different languages were spoken in the colony.

2. **The Constitution.**—The people of New Netherlands did not enjoy anything like the same political freedom as their English neighbours. They did not make their own laws or fix their own taxes; yet they were not altogether without means of making their wants known, and protecting themselves against arbitrary government. In 1641 Kieft called together a Board of twelve Deputies, elected by the people, to advise him about the war with the Indians. They had no power beyond this. In the next year some of them of their own accord drew up a paper calling the Governor's attention to certain grievances from which the colonists suffered. The chief of these was that the Council, which ought to have been a check upon the Governor, consisted of one member only; and as the Governor had two votes, the whole power was in his hands. They proposed that the people should elect four members of the Council. Kieft promised to allow this, and dissolved the Board, but did not keep his promise. In 1644 he called together a similar board to consult about taxation. Kieft wanted to lay a duty on certain articles. The Deputies opposed this, declaring that the inhabitants could not pay it, and moreover that

they ought to be taxed only by the company itself, and not by the Governor. After a dispute, Kieft imposed the tax, but had in some cases to use force in making the colonists pay it. In the same year the Deputies sent a memorial to the company. They represented the wretched state to which Kieft had brought the colony by his folly in making war on the Indians. They advised the company to believe nothing that Kieft told them, and they petitioned for a new Governor and a regular system of representation. The company thereupon recalled Kieft. His successor, Stuyvesant, established an imperfect system of representation. The people were to elect eighteen Councillors, of whom he was to choose nine. Of these, six were to go out of office each year, but before they went out the whole nine were to choose the six incoming members. Thus after the first election the people had no voice in the matter. In 1647 the Councillors sent a memorial to the States-General, setting forth the wants and sufferings of the colony. The Government took up the matter, passed a resolution recommending certain improvements, and sent it to the West India Company. The amendment in the condition of the colony was to some extent due to this. In 1653 a dispute arose between Stuyvesant and the people of New Amsterdam about the tax on liquors, in which Stuyvesant at last gave way.

3. Dealings with the Indians and the Swedes.—Besides these disputes the colony was exposed to dangers from without. The Dutch settlers, unlike the English, had constant dealings with the Indians, and those dealings often led to quarrels. In 1643 some trifling misconduct on the part of the Indians was made the pretext for an attack. The country of the Indians was cruelly ravaged, and many of them killed. In making the attack Kieft was acting against the wishes of many of the settlers. One man in particular, De Vries, a leading patroon, did his utmost to check Kieft. Failing in this, he left the

colony in despair, warning Kieft that all the innocent blood that he had shed would be avenged on himself. The Indians were taken by surprise, but they soon collected their forces, ravaged the Dutch country, and penned the settlers within the walls of New Amsterdam. After heavy losses on each side, peace was made. Besides this there were other less important hostilities between the Dutch and the Indians. Luckily the settlers, like the New Englanders, contrived to make friends with the Mohawks. It is said that the first Dutch colonists in 1617 made a treaty with them. This was renewed in 1645; and, as the Indians whom the Dutch attacked were enemies to the Mohawks, the alliance was not weakened by this war. In 1646 the Dutch got into a dispute with the Swedes, who were settled by the river Delaware, on land which both nations claimed. In 1651 Stuyvesant established a fort on the disputed territory. In 1654 the Swedes appeared before the fort with a small force, and the Dutch commander surrendered. In the next year Stuyvesant retook the place. No further attempt was made to recover it, and the only Swedish settlement in America became part of New Netherlands.

4. *The English Conquest.*—It was but natural that England should covet the territory of New Netherlands. The Dutch were then, as the Spaniards had been a century before, the great naval and commercial rivals of the English. Moreover, as long as New Netherlands belonged to any other nation, it was impossible for the northern and southern colonies of England to become united. If the English Government had foreseen the possibility of the colonies ever combining in a revolt against the mother country, they might have preferred to keep New Netherlands as a check upon them. But the English were not likely to think of that danger, and looked on New Netherlands only as interfering with their commerce. Moreover, New Amsterdam had the

best harbour of any place along the coast, and no other river gave such a highway for the Indian fur trade as the Hudson. The only title which the English had to the place was that they claimed to have discovered it before the Dutch. But even if this were so, it could hardly be thought that this was of any weight, after they had suffered the Dutch to occupy the country unmolested for some fifty years. Nevertheless, in 1664 Charles II. and his advisers, while England and Holland were at peace, resolved to assert this claim. They sent out a fleet of four ships, with a force of four hundred and fifty men on board, under the command of Colonel Nicholls. The commissioners who were at the same time sent out to New England were ordered to assist Nicholls, and to get aid from the New England colonies. Massachusetts refused help, but the Connecticut settlers, being old enemies of the Dutch, came forward readily. In August the fleet appeared before New Amsterdam. The place was weakly fortified, and ill supplied with men and ammunition. Nevertheless Stuyvesant was for holding out. When Nicholls sent a letter offering liberal terms of surrender, Stuyvesant tore it in pieces. The settlers however demanded to see the letter, and the fragments were put together and laid before them. The people, when they heard the terms offered, flocked to Stuyvesant, and besought him to surrender and avoid the risk of an attack. At first he declared that he would rather be carried out dead ; but at length, finding that scarcely anyone supported him, and that even his own son was against him, he yielded. By the terms of the treaty, the garrison was allowed to march out with all the honours of war, and the property of the settlers was not injured. The remaining settlements followed the example of the capital. One place alone, New Amstel, held out. It was taken with slight loss, and by October the whole country had submitted. By this conquest England obtained the whole sea-coast from

the Kennebec to the Savannah. Thus the acquirement of New Netherlands by England was a turning-point in American history. It made it possible for the English colonies to become one united dominion. The new territory was granted to the Duke of York as proprietor. The name of the country and of the capital were both changed to New York. Part of the territory was sold to a company of proprietors, and afterwards formed the province of New Jersey. The rest was placed under the government of Nicholls. The charter granted to the Duke of York gave him full power to make laws. Nothing was said, as in the charter of Maryland, about the advice or assistance of the freemen. In 1665 Nicholls called together a Convention of the settlers, to advise and help him in drawing up a system of government and a code of laws, but without allowing them any power of enacting laws. The government was to be in the hands of a Governor and a Council. No steps were taken towards giving the people representatives. The only harsh measure adopted was that all grants of land had to be renewed, and a fee paid for renewal. In 1668 Nicholls was succeeded by Lord Lovelace, the head of a distinguished royalist family. In 1672 war broke out between England and Holland. In the next year a Dutch fleet threatened New York. Lovelace and the English officers with him showed no such resolute spirit as Stuyvesant had displayed in a like case, and the place was at once surrendered. The country took back its old name, while the capital was called Orange, in honour of the Stadtholder, William of Orange, then at the height of his popularity. But the Dutch only held the country for seven months, too short a time to make any important change, and in 1674 the treaty of Breda ended the war, and restored the territory to the English. Thenceforth New York, as it was again called, remained an English possession.

5. New York under James II.—The Governor now

appointed by the Duke of York was Andros, whose later dealings with New England have been already told. As before, the transfer to the English was effected with little or no injury to the private rights of the settlers. Their desire for a Representative Assembly was at first disregarded. In 1681 the people made a formal petition for a government like those of the New England colonies, and the Duke promised to consider their request. In 1683 Colonel Dongan, an Irishman of good family, was sent over as Governor. He was instructed to call an Assembly of eighteen representatives elected by the freeholders. They were to make laws, subject to the Duke's approval, and to decide about taxation. In October the first New York Assembly met. Its first proceeding was to draw up a charter of liberties. This enacted that the government should be perpetually vested in a Governor, Council, and Assembly; that all freeholders and freemen of corporations should have votes; that freedom of conscience should be granted to all Christians, and that no tax should be levied without the consent of the Assembly. This charter of liberties received the King's assent. The dealings of James II. with New York are as hard to be understood as any part of his seemingly strange and capricious policy. In 1686 the Assembly of New York, like those of the New England colonies, was annulled, and the whole government transferred to Dongan and his Council. He was instructed to provide for the celebration of the worship of the Church of England throughout the colony. Moreover, no one was to keep a school without a licence from the Archbishop of Canterbury. About this time the settlers had important dealings with the Indians. The English Government kept to the policy of their Dutch predecessors, and encouraged the friendship of the Mohawks. In 1678 Andros had a friendly conference with them, and in 1683 Dongan renewed the alliance. In the next year ambassadors

from the five nations of the Mohawk confederacy met the Governors of New York and Virginia at Albany, made them solemn promises of friendship, and asked to have the Duke of York's arms placed over their log forts. Throughout his term of office, Dongan seems to have been more alive than most of our Colonial Governors to the importance of encouraging the friendship of the Mohawks, and preventing any alliance between them and the French; it was in a great measure due to this that, while Massachusetts and New Hampshire were being ravaged by the Canadian Indians, New York enjoyed security.

6. **The Revolution and Leisler's Insurrection.**—As in New England, so in New York, the English revolution of 1688 was accompanied by a colonial one. But the New York revolution was not marked by the same moderation as that in New England. In 1688 Dongan was succeeded by Andros. He was represented in New York by a deputy, Nicholson, a man wanting in judgment, with neither firmness to control nor ability to conciliate the colonists. When the news of the revolution arrived the people rose, under the leadership of one Leisler. He was a German by birth, able, honest, and energetic; but violent, ambitious, uneducated, and utterly without political experience. He took the government into his own hands, turned out those officers who differed from him in politics or religion, and imprisoned some of them. He used his power in so arbitrary a fashion that a counter-revolution soon sprang up. The party opposed to Leisler established itself at Albany, and for a time the colony was divided between two governments. The Albany party was far more temperate than Leisler, and, like the New Englanders, held its authority only until some orders should come out from England, whereas Leisler seized the governorship without waiting for any commission. When a letter came out from King William to Nicholson, authorizing him

to carry on the government, Leisler intercepted it, and told the people that he had a commission from the Crown. In 1691 the King sent Colonel Sloughter as Governor. Unluckily he was detained on his way by bad weather. Major Ingoldsby, who was next in command, but who had no authority to act as commander-in-chief or governor, landed in February, and summoned Leisler to give up the government. He refused, on the ground that Ingoldsby had no authority, to which the latter could only answer that Leisler had none either. Leisler then established himself in the fort of New York and fired on the King's troops. In March, Sloughter arrived. He summoned the insurgents to surrender, but Leisler, so far from complying, made a like demand of Sloughter. Soon after however, finding that he was deserted by his followers, and that his two chief supporters, who had been sent to treat with Sloughter, were seized and imprisoned, Leisler yielded. He and the other ringleaders in the revolt were tried, and eight of them sentenced to death, but all of them, except Leisler and his chief supporter, Milborne, were pardoned. Sloughter, it is said, was unwilling to put any to death, but was overpersuaded by those who had suffered from Leisler's tyranny.

7. *The Colony after the Revolution.*—In March, 1691, Sloughter called an Assembly. The Assembly annulled all the Acts of Leisler's government. It also passed an Act which was designed to be a sort of charter for the colony, like the earlier charter of liberties. This Act set forth the rights of the colonists and their relation to the Crown. It enacted that New York should be under a government consisting, like that of other colonies, of a Governor, Council, and Representatives, and that this body only should have power to impose taxes. The King refused his assent to this Act, and New York was thus left without any written constitution. Nevertheless the proposed form of government was adopted. The

division into two parties, which had begun with Leisler's insurrection, lasted after his death. Fletcher, who succeeded Sloughter in 1691, was regarded as the champion of those who had opposed Leisler. His folly and violence soon involved him in disputes with the Assembly. A Bill was passed by the Assembly for endowing the clergy at the expense of the colony. Fletcher wished to add a clause giving the Governor the right of appointment. The Assembly refused their assent to this, whereupon Fletcher reproved and dismissed them. Moreover he granted large tracts of land in the backwoods to his favourites, thereby impoverishing the State and endangering the alliance with the Mohawks. In 1695 Fletcher was succeeded by Lord Bellomont. Though a far abler and better man than Fletcher, he too suffered himself to be made the leader of a party, consisting mainly of Leisler's surviving followers. He annulled Fletcher's grants of land, and in a speech to the Assembly heaped abuse upon his memory, saying that he had himself received "the legacy of a divided people, an empty purse, a few miserable, naked, half-starved soldiers; in a word, the whole government out of frame." In 1701 Bellomont died, having done as much to strengthen the popular party by his encouragement as Fletcher had by his ill-judged severity. The next governor, Lord Cornbury, made himself hateful to both parties alike. He was a grandson of the famous Lord Clarendon. Like his father and grandfather, he was a strong partizan of the Established Church, but his whole conduct and character were such as to bring disgrace on any cause that he took up. He was extravagant and dishonest, fond of low pleasures and indecent buffoonery. He embezzled money raised by the Assembly for public purposes, and imposed illegal taxes and exorbitant fees. He also incurred the displeasure of the people by threatening to put in force the penal laws against Dissenters, which the colonists alleged

were not binding out of England. The Assembly passed a series of resolutions denouncing his conduct, in one of which they declared that no money could be levied in the colony without the consent of the Assembly. In 1708 Cornbury's misdeeds were brought before the notice of the Queen. She deprived him of his governorship, and his creditors thereupon seized him and threw him into prison.

8. Contest between the Governor and the Assembly.—For the next forty years the history of New York, like that of Massachusetts during the same time, is little more than a string of disputes between the Governor and the Assembly. In Fletcher's time, the whole of the State revenue was handed over to the Governor, and the expenditure of it was entirely entrusted to him. In 1705 this was so far changed, that a treasurer was appointed by the colony to receive all money raised for any special purpose over and above the regular revenue. In 1710 the disputes began. The Assembly claimed the sole power of levying taxes, and denied the Council any right of amending money bills, declaring that the people could not be deprived of their property except by their own consent as given by their representatives. They also said plainly that, even if the opinion of the English Board for Plantations was opposed to them, they should still hold to their own view. Soon after this, Governor Hunter established a Court of Chancery. The Assembly passed a resolution that this was illegal, and that no fees could be exacted without their consent. They also claimed the right of controlling the expenditure of the revenue. Soon after however they gave way on this latter point. Hunter was succeeded in 1720 by William Burnet, the same who was afterwards Governor of Massachusetts. In his time the dispute about the Court of Chancery was renewed. The representatives so far prevailed that the fees in that court were lowered. Under Governor Cosby, who came out in 1722,

the disputes reached their height. At first he succeeded in enlisting the Assembly on his side, and for a while things went on as he wished. The length of time during which an Assembly might continue without an election was not defined by law ; and Cosby, finding that he had got an Assembly that suited him, kept it for the unprecedented period of six years from its election. The people became furious, but the power of dissolving the Assembly lay with the Governor, and there was no remedy. A fresh Assembly was not elected till 1738, two years after Cosby's death. But the temporary ascendancy of the Governor's party had only served to inflame and strengthen the opposition to it, and the next Assembly took a bolder course than any before it. Their position was probably improved by the fact that the new Governor had not yet come out, and was represented by a Lieutenant-Governor. The Assembly at once drew up an address to the Lieutenant-Governor, plainly declaring that they would only grant such a revenue as they deemed proper, and that only for one year ; and that they would not even do that, until such laws had been passed as they thought needful for the welfare of the colony. Upon this the Lieutenant-Governor dissolved the Assembly, and a fresh one was elected ; but with the same result. The Assembly voted liberal grants for the support of the French war then going forward, but refused to give the Lieutenant-Governor the control over the public funds. From this time the claims of the Assembly seem to have been quietly admitted.

9. *General Condition.*—During this time, New York, unlike the other northern colonies, had enjoyed security from the Indians. This was partly due to its position, sheltered as it was by the country of the Mohawks. Moreover Peter Schuyler, who commanded the New York forces for a considerable time both before and after the revolution, took great pains to renew the alliance with the Mohawks ; and

wishing to impress on the English Court the necessity of keeping friends with them, he took five of their chiefs over to England. While it remained in the possession of the Dutch, New York enjoyed no great prosperity, but under English rule it became one of the richest and most thriving of the American colonies. The climate was good, and the soil fertile. As in Virginia, the rivers gave great facilities for carriage. The people were more frugal in their habits, and, it is said, more thrifty and gain-loving, than the New Englanders. Their exports consisted mainly of farm-produce, timber, and fur. In the fur trade, the neighbourhood of the Mohawks and the possession of the Hudson gave New York a great advantage over the other States. As under Dutch rule, the colony continued to be a refuge for emigrants of all nations. Governor Hunter brought out three thousand German Protestants who had fled from the Palatinate to avoid persecution. A number of French Huguenots also came out. Among this multitude of different races there was of course great diversity of religion. There were English Episcopalians, Dutch and French Calvinists, Scotch Presbyterians, German Reformers, Quakers and Moravians, Baptists and Jews. In fact, whether we look to the variety of its resources, the diversity of its people, or the number of its religions, we may say that New York in the eighteenth century was a sort of model and representative of the whole body of English colonies.

CHAPTER XII.

THE CAROLINAS.

First settlement (1)—disturbances (2)—improvement under Archdale (3)—wars with the Indians (4)—war with the Spaniards and their Indian allies (5)—abolition of the proprietary government (6)—general condition (7).

1. First Settlement. — Between the southern frontier of Virginia and the Spanish settlements lay a large tract of land, for the most part fertile and well watered. Raleigh's two colonies had been placed on this coast. After them no English settlement seems to have been made south of Virginia till about 1650. At that time two small parties of emigrants established themselves in this country, one from Virginia, the other from Massachusetts. In 1663 Lord Clarendon, Lord Shaftesbury, and other friends of Charles II., obtained from him a grant of land. Their territory began at the southern boundary of Virginia, and reached nearly five hundred miles along the coast. It was to be called Carolina, in honour of the King. The colony was probably intended in a great measure as a refuge for those royalists who had suffered heavy losses in the civil war, and whom the King was unable or unwilling to compensate in any other way. Full power was given to the proprietors to make laws and to manage the affairs of the province. One of the first things that the proprietors did was to draw up a most elaborate constitution for their new State. This was done by John Locke, the great philosopher, and Lord Shaftesbury, and was called the Fundamental Constitutions. The country was to be minutely and exactly divided into

counties, which were to be subdivided into seignories, baronies, precincts, and colonies. There were to be noblemen of two orders, in numbers proportioned to those of the settlers. The eldest of the proprietors was to be called the Palatin, and was to be the supreme officer. Each of the proprietors was to hold a court in his own barony with six councillors and twelve deputies, called assistants. There was to be a parliament, meeting once in two years, and consisting of the proprietors, the noblemen, and the representatives elected by the freeholders. This constitution met with the same fate as the elaborate one devised by Gorges for his colony. It was drawn up without any real knowledge of the special wants and the manner of life of a new State, nor do the proprietors, after framing it, ever seem to have made any vigorous effort to put it in force. At first they did not even attempt to unite the various settlements under a single government. Each of those already existing was placed under a separate government, composed like those in the other colonies of a Governor, a Council, and a House of Representatives. The Council was to be appointed by the proprietors out of a number of candidates chosen by the people. The two settlements were called after two of the proprietors, the Duke of Albemarle (formerly General Monk), and the Earl of Clarendon. Albemarle was the settlement formed by the emigrants from Massachusetts. The other settlers, those from Virginia, soon left, driven away either by fear of the Indians or by the barrenness of the soil. Their place was filled by emigrants from Barbadoes. The proprietors, anxious to people their territory, tempted their settlers by very liberal terms. They gave each man a hundred acres of land for himself, a hundred for every one of his children, and fifty for every woman or slave that he took out. In return he had to provide himself with a gun, a supply of ammunition, and food for six months. Besides

these settlements the proprietors formed a third, about three hundred miles to the south. This was divided into four counties, and like the northern settlement was at first chiefly peopled from Barbadoes. Though they were not yet so called, we may for convenience speak of these settlements by the names which they afterwards bore, North and South Carolina, the former including both Albemarle and Clarendon.

2. Disturbances.—The whole country before long fell into confusion. The proprietors always gave out that the separate governments were only temporary, and were to be replaced by the Fundamental Constitutions. Thus the people, though enjoying present freedom, were dissatisfied, not knowing how soon they might be subjected to a government distasteful and unsuited to them. Moreover many of the settlers seem to have been men of doubtful character. The proprietors ordered that no person should be sued for debts incurred out of the colony. This apparently was done to attract settlers thither. Thus the colony, like Virginia in early times, was in danger of becoming a refuge for the destitute and ill-conducted. Their mode of life was not likely to better matters. For several years there was no minister of religion in Albemarle. The proprietors too showed little regard for the welfare of the colony in their choice of officers, and disturbances soon broke out. In the northern province the proprietors appointed one of their own body, Millar, who was already unpopular with the settlers, to be the collector of quit-rents. Among a poor and not over-loyal people, the post was a difficult one, and Millar made it more so by harshness and imprudence. A revolution broke out. Millar was seized, but he escaped, and the Governor, Eastchurch, was deposed. He died just after, and one of the proprietors, Sothel, went out as Governor. He fared no better, and after six years of confusion was forced

to resign. He then went to South Carolina, where he took up the cause of the settlers, headed an insurrection, in which Colleton the Governor, also a proprietor, was deposed, and was himself chosen by the people in his stead. From this it would seem as if either Sothel's misdeeds in North Carolina had been exaggerated by his enemies, or as if there was hardly any communication between the Northern and Southern provinces. The proprietors, though they had been indifferent to the welfare of the settlers, showed no wish to deal harshly with them. In 1693 they passed a resolution declaring that, as the settlers wished to keep their present government rather than adopt the Fundamental Constitutions, it would be best to give them their own way. Thus Locke's constitution perished, having borne no fruit.

3. Improvement under Archdale.—Two years later John Archdale, one of the proprietors, went out as Governor. He was a Quaker, and seems to have been in every way well fitted for the post. By lowering the quit-rents and allowing them to be paid in produce instead of money, by making peace with the Indians, and by attention to roads and public works, he gave prosperity and, for a time, peace to the colony. One thing which especially furthered its welfare was the introduction of rice. The climate and soil of South Carolina were found to be specially suited to it, and the colony soon became the rice-market for all the American colonies. Silk and cotton also might have been produced to advantage, but the cultivation of rice was so profitable that little time or labour was left for any other work. One bad effect of this was that it forced the colonists to employ large numbers of negro slaves. The work in the rice plantations was very unhealthy, and could only be endured by the natives of a sultry climate. This familiarized the Carolina settlers with slavery, and they fell into the regular practice of kidnapping the Indians and selling them to the West India Islands.

4. Wars with the Indians.—Partly through the above mentioned practice, both Carolinas were at an early time engaged in serious wars with the Indians. These were the more dangerous, because the settlers lived like those of Virginia for the most part in scattered plantations, each on his own land. Fortunately for the settlers in North Carolina, the Indians in that neighbourhood were mostly broken up into many small tribes, under no common head. But in South Carolina the Creeks, the Cherokees, the Appalachians, and the Yamassees were all formidable nations. The first important contest with the Indians was in 1703. In that year John Moore, Governor of South Carolina, invaded the country of the Appalachians, on the ground that they were allies of the Spaniards, with whom we were then at war. He devastated their country and compelled them to submit to the English Government. After that, he planted fourteen hundred of them on the southern frontier as a sort of outpost against the Spaniards in Florida and the Southern Indians. In 1711 North Carolina became engaged in a more serious Indian war. About that time a number of German Protestants from the Palatinate, being persecuted by their Elector, fled to various parts of America. A number of them settled in North Carolina. Their leader, Baron Grafenried, with Lawson, the surveyor of the colony, went to measure lands for the German settlement. The Tuscaroras, a warlike tribe, thinking that their territory was encroached on, seized them. Lawson was put to death, but Grafenried pleaded that he was a foreigner, and had nothing to do with the English, and the Indians accordingly spared him. It seems doubtful whether the Tuscaroras had been already meditating an attack, or whether they thought that, having killed Lawson, they would have to fight, and so had better strike the first blow. They invaded the English territory in small bands, and cut off in one day about a hundred and

twenty settlers. Yet they showed some sense both of humanity and honesty by sparing the Germans, on the strength of a treaty made with Grafenried. The North Carolina settlers sent for help to their southern neighbours. They at once sent a small force with a number of Indian allies from the southern tribes. No decisive blow was struck. But the next year a large force was sent from the south, and the Tuscaroras were crushed. A peace was made, by which they promised to give up to the English twenty Indians, the chief contrivers of Lawson's murder and of the massacre, to restore all their prisoners and spoil, and to give two hostages from each of their villages. The greater part of the Tuscarora nation left the country and joined the confederacy of the Mohawks. In this, as in the New England wars, the Indians were defeated rather through their own divisions than through the strength of the English.

5. War with the Spaniards and their Indian Allies.—In 1715 South Carolina was exposed to yet greater danger. From the very outset, the Spaniards in Florida had been jealous and unfriendly neighbours to the English. Their chief settlement was at St. Augustine, a hundred and seventy miles south of the river Savannah, which was practically the southern boundary of Carolina. They had encouraged the slaves of the English to run away, and as early as 1670 had made a raid into the English territory. For thirty years after this no open hostility took place. In 1702, as Spain and England were at war, Moore planned an expedition against St. Augustine by sea and land. He reached the town, but alarmed by the arrival of two Spanish ships, he retreated without striking a blow. Soon after the Spaniards began to seduce the Yamassees, a large and powerful tribe who had hitherto been our friends. This design was furthered by the humanity of Charles Craven, the governor of South Carolina, who often sent back the Yamassees with

Spanish prisoners, whom they had taken and would have tortured. This gave the Spaniards opportunities of intriguing with the Yamassee chiefs. In 1715 a combined force of the Yamassees and other southern tribes, making in all more than seven thousand warriors, attacked the English settlements. The Governor could only bring against them twelve hundred men. Yet he defeated them after a fierce battle, and drove them out of the colony, though not before they had killed four hundred settlers. It is said that the Spaniards at St. Augustine welcomed the Yamassees on their return, ringing bells and firing cannon. Though repulsed, the Yamassees continued for many years to harass the English. Four years later a Spanish fleet sailed from Havanna against the Carolinas. It first attacked the Bahamas, islands off the southern point of Florida, where there was an English settlement, but it was beaten off. The defeat, followed by a heavy storm, prevented it from attacking the Carolinas. The multitude of slaves made the hostility of the Spaniard specially dangerous. If the slaves should revolt, the settlers might at any time have to deal with enemies without and rebels within. In the case of the Indians this danger was less felt, since the Indians and the negroes detested one another, and there was little fear of any sort of combination between them. But the Spaniards looked upon the multitude of slaves as a weak point in our settlements, and in a later war they paraded a regiment made up wholly of negroes, officers and all, in front of their forces, as a bait to the English slaves to join them.

6. Abolition of the Proprietary Government.—In the meantime, internal disturbances had sprung up in both colonies. In 1705, the Dissenters in South Carolina sent a petition to the Queen, calling attention to the misgovernment of the proprietors, and the law officers of the Crown were ordered to commence proceedings for a writ of *Quo warranto*.

Nothing however came of this. In 1717, the Assembly of South Carolina passed a law that the election of representatives should be held, not, as before, at the capital, Charlestown, but in the different counties. This, by making it easier for all the freemen, especially for the poorer sort, to vote, strengthened the hands of the people and weakened the influence of the proprietors. At the same time, the Assembly imposed a heavy import duty on English goods. The proprietors annulled both these Acts. They also provoked the colonists by increasing the number of the Council from seven to twelve. Moreover, there was a general feeling in the colony that the proprietors cared only for their own pockets, and were indifferent to the welfare of the people. The colonists accordingly broke out into open revolt against the proprietors. Sir Nathaniel Johnson, the Governor, was himself popular, and the people endeavoured to enlist him on their side ; but he remained loyal to the proprietors. The colonists then deposed him, and appointed James Moore to be Governor. At the same time they sent over an agent to England to plead their cause. The effect of his representation was that South Carolina was made a royal colony. Nicholson, a man of considerable experience in the colonies, was sent out as the first Governor. Under the new system, the colony thrived, and the rapid improvement in its condition was the best proof of the misgovernment of the proprietors. Peace was made with the Southern Indians. Clergymen were sent out, partly at the expense of the colony, partly by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and schools were established throughout the colony. Before long, North Carolina too passed under the government of the Crown. Though there was not such an open display of enmity as in the southern colony, yet the people were known to be disaffected to the proprietors. In 1724, the proprietors voluntarily surrendered their rights, and North Carolina became a royal

colony. The change was made without dispute, and apparently with the good will of all concerned.

7. General Condition.—In spite of these disturbances the actual resources of the two colonies, especially of the southern provinces, were so great that, when quiet was restored, they quickly became rich and prosperous. In the whole country there was but one town, Charlestown, the capital of South Carolina. Its position, and its neighbourhood to the West India Islands, made it the most important place south of New York. About two hundred ships sailed thence every year. In climate and soil, the two colonies were much alike. But while the rivers of South Carolina afforded good harbourage for small vessels, most of those in North Carolina were lost in large and unwholesome swamps before reaching the sea. This, coupled with the fact that there was no place in North Carolina like Charlestown, gave the southern colony a superiority in commerce, and hence in political activity and education, which it long kept. In one point the two Carolinas resembled New York rather than their southern neighbours Virginia and Maryland. The population included a large number of foreigners, French, German, and Swiss, most of them refugees, who had fled from persecution in their own country.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE QUAKER COLONIES.

First settlement of New Jersey (1)—Quakers' settlement of West New Jersey (2)—transfer of East New Jersey (3)—the New Jersey charters threatened (4)—state of the colony at the revolution (5)—the Jerseys united under the Crown (6)—William Penn (7)—settlement of Pennsylvania (8)—troubles in the colony (9)—general condition (10).

1. First settlement of New Jersey.—In the history of New England we have already met with the sect of Quakers, or Friends. The first members of that sect were wild and noisy fanatics, but before long men of good family and education joined them, and under such leaders the Quakers took an important part in the colonization of America. The greatest and most prominent of these men was William Penn, the founder of Pennsylvania. But, before that colony was settled, another had come into being, not consisting wholly of Quakers, but numbering many of them among its inhabitants. That State was New Jersey. As we have already seen, the Duke of York, as soon as he came into possession of New Netherlands, sold about one-twelfth of it, that is to say, some seven thousand square miles, to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. Although this only formed a small part of his whole territory, it was in value scarcely inferior to all the rest put together. For it included nearly the whole seaboard of about a hundred and twenty miles in length, and consequently it was the best place for fresh colonists. Moreover the greater part of it was almost uninhabited, and the proprietors could sell or let the land in parcels, while in the

rest of New Netherlands there were Dutch and Swedes, who claimed the soil as their own, and often refused any payment to the proprietors. This territory was also well protected from the Indians, on the south-west by the river Delaware, on the west by the inhabited districts of New Netherlands, and on the north by Connecticut. Moreover, unlike most of the colonies, it had a fixed boundary to the west, and thus the settlers were kept from straggling, and held together in towns and villages. When Nicholls, the Governor of New York, discovered all this, thinking that his master had done unwisely to part with the land, he tried to set aside the sale, but in vain. The new colony was called New Jersey, in honour of Carteret, who had bravely defended Jersey against the parliamentary forces in the great rebellion. The government was to consist, like those of the other colonies, of a Governor, Council, and Representatives. No taxes were to be imposed except by consent of this government. The proprietors retained the right of annulling any law, and of appointing colonial officers. All religious sects were to enjoy liberty of worship, and equal political rights. At the time of the purchase, New Jersey was almost uninhabited. A few Dutch and Swedes had settled in the country, and a few New England Puritans, who had been driven out of Massachusetts, among them some of Mrs. Hutchinson's followers, had sought a refuge there, and had been allowed by the Dutch to form settlements. Several of these had obtained a right to the soil by purchase from the Indians. In 1665, Philip Carteret, a nephew of Sir George, was sent out as Governor. He founded a town, called, after Lady Carteret, Elizabethtown. A number of colonists came in from New England. In 1668, the first Assembly was held at Elizabethtown, and some of the laws passed show that the colonists were influenced by the ideas and habits of New England. In 1670 a dispute arose between the proprietors and the settlers.

The former claimed quit-rents for the land. The latter refused to pay, pleading that, by buying the ground from the Indians, they had got full ownership of it, and that, if they allowed the proprietors' claim, they would be paying twice over. The dispute led to an insurrection. In 1672 the people drove out Philip Carteret and the other government officers, and chose as Governor, James Carteret, a kinsman of Sir George, who had nevertheless taken the side of the settlers. Two years later the Dutch, as we have seen, got back for a short time all that had been taken from them by the English. But in New Jersey, as in New York, the short period of Dutch occupation made no special change.

2. Quakers' settlement of West New Jersey.—When by the treaty of 1674 the Dutch settlements were finally given up to the English, the King granted them by a fresh deed to the Duke of York. This grant took in the lands which the Duke had sold to Berkeley and Carteret. They contended that their right still held good, and the Duke granted their claim. Nevertheless, he afterwards asserted a right of levying certain duties in New Jersey, which led him into several disputes, both with the proprietors and the settlers. In 1674, Lord Berkeley, being dissatisfied with the results of his colony, and with his ill-treatment, as it must have seemed to him, at the hands of the Duke of York and the colonists, sold his right in the land to two Quakers, Fenwick and Bylling. Soon after, Bylling, in consequence of a dispute with Fenwick, sold his share to three other Quakers, of whom William Penn was one. They, wishing to set up a separate colony, persuaded Sir George Carteret to divide the territory with them. This he did, and for some time it formed two separate States, East and West New Jersey, the former belonging to Carteret, the latter to the Quakers. The eastern division contained about four thousand settlers. The western was much more scantily inhabited, and so was fitter for the purpose of its

proprietors. Their object was to found a colony which might be a refuge for the Quakers, as New England had been for the Puritans. They drew up a constitution for their new State. Except in two points, it was like the earlier constitution framed by Carteret and Berkeley. The Council was not to be appointed by the proprietors, but chosen by the Assembly, and to prevent disturbances at elections the voting for representatives was to be by ballot. In 1677, four hundred Quakers emigrated to West New Jersey. In 1681, a dispute arose between the proprietors and the Duke of York. Andros, who was then Governor of New York, tried to levy an import duty in New Jersey; Penn and his colleagues resisted. They pleaded that they had bought the land from Lord Berkeley; that they had thereby acquired his rights; that one of these rights was that the colony should be subject to no laws, but those of its own making and those of England, and that therefore a law imposed by Andros could not bind them. They represented that to tax the settlers without their consent would be infringing their rights as Englishmen, and that they would never have braved the perils of a distant voyage and a new country, unless with a hope of having those rights enlarged rather than lessened. The English Judges before whom the question came decided in favour of New Jersey.

3. **Transfer of East New Jersey.**—Meanwhile East Jersey had undergone a complete change. In 1679, Sir George Carteret died; his affairs were in such a bad state that it was needful to sell his property for the benefit of his creditors. The Quakers, satisfied with the success of their settlement in West Jersey, decided to make a like attempt in the eastern colony. Accordingly, Penn and eleven others purchased it from Carteret's representatives. But as East, unlike West, Jersey had already a large number of settlers, the new proprietors did not attempt to make it wholly a

Quaker settlement. They associated with them a number of Scotchmen, and the colony was soon filled with Scotch emigrants. The government was like that of the western colony, except that the Council consisted of the proprietors and their deputies. The more important officers were to be appointed by the Governor and Council. All Christians were eligible for public offices, and no man was to be molested in any way for his religion.

4. The New Jersey Charters threatened.—James II.'s scheme for making one great State out of the northern colonies took in both the Jerseys. To carry it into execution, in 1686, writs of *Quo warranto* were issued against both governments. The professed grounds were some charges of smuggling brought against the inhabitants. The proprietors of East Jersey yielded their patent on condition that the King should not meddle with their private rights over the land. West Jersey would probably have been forced to do likewise, but, before the surrender of the eastern colony could take effect, James had ceased to reign.

5. State of the Colony at the Revolution.—The Revolution brought no change in the constitution of either of the colonies. By 1700, the number of settlers in East Jersey was about twelve thousand and in West Jersey about eight thousand. The inhabitants were prosperous, though not wealthy. Like Virginia, the country was abundantly supplied with rivers, and water carriage was easy; but the settlers did not live in scattered plantations like the Virginians. There were some twelve towns, of which Burlington and Elizabethtown were the largest, each containing between two and three hundred houses. From the first the country seems to have been almost deserted by the Indians, and by 1700 there were not more than two hundred in both colonies. Their small number was not due to any cruelty on the part of the settlers. On the other hand, the two races seem to have been perfectly

friendly, and the English are said to have found the Indians so helpful that they wished for more of them.

6. *The Jerseys united under the Crown.*—Notwithstanding the prosperity of the two colonies, neither of them brought much good to their proprietors. Both changed hands several times, and in the process various disputes arose. Different persons claimed the governorship at the same time, each professing to be appointed by a majority of the proprietors. Besides this, the settlers became engaged in a dispute with New York. The government of that State, presuming on its old connexion with New Jersey, attempted to levy a tax on the inhabitants. The Jersey settlers refused to pay, and the question was referred to the Crown lawyers in England. They ruled that no colony could be taxed, except by Act of Parliament or by its own Assembly. Wearied with these disputes, and finding little profit from their property, in 1702 the proprietors of both colonies surrendered their rights to the Crown. The two provinces were again united, and New Jersey became a royal colony. The new constitution was after the ordinary colonial pattern. There was to be a Governor and twelve Councillors, appointed by the Crown, and twenty-four Deputies elected by the people. The right of voting for deputies was confined to those who possessed a hundred acres of land, or 50*l.* worth of other property. The Governor was to appoint all officers, and to command the forces of the colony. Political equality was granted to all sects, except Roman Catholics. The first Governor appointed was Lord Cornbury. As in New York, he made himself odious by imposing exorbitant fees and interfering with the proceedings of the Assembly. Yet New Jersey fared somewhat better than New York, as, being fully occupied with his government of the latter colony, Lord Cornbury for the most part governed New Jersey by a deputy.

7. *William Penn.*—Of the early Quakers the most con-

spicuous was William Penn. In position, ability, and education he stood far above the generality of his sect. His father, Admiral Penn, was a distinguished seaman, and stood high in the favour of Charles II., by whom he was knighted. His son, while at Oxford, is said to have shown symptoms of those strict and unusual views in religious matters which he afterwards displayed more fully. This temper however seemed for a while to have disappeared, and he came back from a foreign tour with all the graces and accomplishments of a polished gentleman. Soon after this, it became known, to the dismay of his friends and the wonder of the fashionable world, that he had joined an obscure sect, headed by an illiterate and fanatical cobbler. His father cast him off, and the magistrates sent him to prison for attending Quaker meetings. After undergoing all these trials with unswerving constancy, he was at length reconciled to his father, and, like him, enjoyed the favour of the King and the Duke of York.

8. *Settlement of Pennsylvania.*—Penn was, as we have seen, a proprietor both in East and West New Jersey, and took a leading part in the settlement of those colonies. Soon afterwards, he bethought him of founding an exclusively Quaker colony, with laws and institutions suited to the peculiar views of his sect. With this object, in 1680 he got from the King a grant of land between Maryland and New York. This is said to have been given as a quittance for 16,000*l.* lent by Admiral Penn to the Crown. The territory was called, by the wish of the King, Pennsylvania. The grant was opposed by the Privy Council, by the Council for Plantations, by the proprietors of New York and Maryland. All these obstacles however were overcome. At the same time Penn received a charter as proprietor, much like that granted to Baltimore. It gave him the power of making laws with the advice and assent of the freemen. It also gave him the command over the forces of the colony, a provision somewhat inconsistent

with the principles of the Quakers, who condemned all war as sinful. In that year three ships sailed out with emigrants, and in the next year Penn himself followed. He drew up a set of rules for the first settlers. The most important of these was that no one was to have more than a thousand acres of land lying together, unless within three years he should plant a family on every thousand acres. To guard the Indians from being cheated, all trade with them was to be in open market. This year Penn got from the Duke of York a small grant of land at the south-east of New York, then called the Territories of Pennsylvania, and now forming the State of Delaware. This tract of land and Penn's original colony, as long as they remained under one government, were generally distinguished, the former as the Territories, the latter as the Province. The whole country was divided into six counties, three in the Province and three in the Territories. In May, 1682, Penn set forth the constitution. The Government was to consist, as in the other colonies, of a Governor, Council, and Assembly. The councillors were not to be appointed by the proprietor, but chosen, as they had been in West Jersey, by the settlers. They were to be elected for three years, the deputies for one. Each county was to send three members to the Council and twelve to the Assembly. At the same time Penn published various laws. No conformity in religion was to be required from any private person beyond a belief in one God. All public officers however were to profess themselves Christians. All children were to be taught some trade, and the criminals in prisons were to be usefully employed. No part of Penn's conduct in settling his colony was more honourable than his treatment of the Indians. Soon after landing he held a conference with them, and laid the foundation of a lasting friendship. In none of the colonies were the relations between the two races so uniformly friendly as in Pennsylvania. For a long while the highest praise that the Indians

could give a white man was to liken him to *Onas*, as they called Penn.

9. Troubles in the Colony.—In May, 1684, Penn was forced by stress of business to return to England. Before he went he appointed a Governor in his place. Soon after his departure dissension arose from various causes. A violent dispute had broken out the year before with Maryland about boundaries. In 1684, the Marylanders attempted to possess themselves by force of some of the disputed lands. The question was settled in the next year by the English Government. In 1691, a quarrel broke out between the province and the territories. Some of the deputies chosen by the territories took upon themselves to usurp the place of the whole Assembly, and to carry on business in its name. Other disputes followed, and at length Penn thought it best to give the territories a separate Government. Penn's friendship for James II. naturally prejudiced William and Mary against him, and in 1692 he was deprived of his proprietorship on the ground that he had suffered the colony to fall into disorder. Fletcher, the Governor of New York, was then appointed Governor of Pennsylvania. He soon got into disputes with the Assembly. They held that the old constitution and laws were still in force, while he contended that the forfeiture of the charter had made them void. They also refused the help which he required for the protection of New York against the Indians. In 1695, Penn so far recovered favour with the Court as to be restored to his proprietorship. The next year the Assembly drew up a fresh form of government, to which Penn assented. The principal changes were that the number of councillors and deputies was reduced by one-third, and that the Assembly was empowered to meet of its own free-will, without being summoned by the Governor. In 1700, Penn again went out, but in less than two years he was called back by a report

that the proprietary governments were in danger of being abolished, and he never revisited the colony. During his stay disputes again broke out between the Province and the Territories, which had been reunited under Fletcher. The deputies from the Territories, not being able to carry some measures for the good of their own country, left the Assembly altogether. Penn endeavoured to mediate, but without success, and after his departure the feud grew worse. In 1701, Penn granted a fresh charter, one of the clauses in which allowed the Territories, if they chose, to separate from the province. Accordingly in 1703 they did so, and became a distinct State, known afterwards as Delaware. This State covered little more than 2,000 square miles. So unimportant was it that American writers, both in the last century and in modern times, seem to have forgotten its existence. Besides this dispute other dissensions arose. Penn does not seem to have been fortunate in his choice of a Governor. Evans, who became Governor in 1704, and his successor, Gookin, both quarrelled with the Assembly. In 1710, Penn pathetically complained, in a letter which he wrote to the colonists, that he could not "but think it hard measure that, while that has proved a land of freedom and flourishing, it should become to me, by whose means it was principally made a country, the cause of grief, trouble, and poverty." Being moreover embarrassed in his private affairs, in 1712 Penn proposed to sell his right as proprietor to the Crown. Just before the sale could be completed, he was seized with apoplexy, and, for the remaining six years of his life, he was incapable of doing any business. Thus the transfer was never made, and the proprietorship was handed down to Penn's descendants. They took little interest in the colony. They caused more than one dispute by putting forward a claim to hold their lands free from taxation, a demand which was always resisted by the Assembly.

10. General Condition.—None of the colonies, except perhaps New York, was better off for natural advantages than Pennsylvania. The climate was a mean between that of New England and the southern colonies. Timber was plentiful, the soil was fertile, and the rivers offered easy means of carriage. Philadelphia, the capital, was the best laid out and handsomest town in the colonies. The inhabitants were of various races and religions. Besides the Quakers, who for a long time formed the greater part of the population, there were Swedes, Germans and Welsh. As in New England, there seem to have been few very rich men or great landed proprietors. In this, and in the general mode of life among the settlers, Pennsylvania resembled New York and the New England colonies.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE SETTLEMENT OF GEORGIA AND THE SPANISH WAR.

Motives for settlement (1)—first settlement (2)—German and Scotch emigrants (3)—dispute between Oglethorpe and the settlers (4) dealings with the neighbouring Spanish colonists (5)—alliance with the Indians (6)—war with Spain (7)—invasion of Georgia (8)—Oglethorpe's departure (9)—Georgia becomes a royal colony (10).

1. Motives for Settlement.—Virginia and Georgia, the first and last of the English colonies in America, resemble one another in their origin. All the settlements that came between were either founded, like Maryland and Carolina, for the profit of the proprietors, or like Pennsylvania and the

New England colonies, as a refuge for a religious sect. Virginia and Georgia alone were established as homes for the poor and needy. In one point however they differed. Virginia was colonized by a company of merchants, who looked to their own gain as well as to the good of the settlers. The founders of Georgia were benevolent men, who did not aim at any profit to themselves, but only at founding a home for those who had no means of livelihood in England. Georgia may also be likened to a still earlier class of settlements, those planned by Gilbert and Raleigh. For it was meant to serve, and it did serve, as a military outpost to guard the older colonies, especially South Carolina, against Spanish invasion. About 1730, some benevolent persons were struck by the evil state of English prisons. At that time men could be, and commonly were, imprisoned for debt. The prisons in which they were confined were shamefully managed. They were dens of filth, and no heed was given to the health of the prisoners. About that time also many wild and foolish schemes of speculation had been set on foot, and had led to the ruin of many. Thus the debtors' prisons were unusually full, and their condition was worse than ever. One of the first to call attention to this was James Oglethorpe, a man of high birth and good education, an officer in the army, and a member of Parliament. From the outset of his public career, he devoted himself to bettering the lot of the wretched and helpless, and was described by Pope as—

“Driven by vast benevolence of soul.”

By the account which he gave of the evil state of prisons, he got a committee of the House of Commons appointed, with himself as chairman, to inquire into the matter. He was not content with lightening the sufferings of those unhappy debtors. He bethought him of some means whereby those who could find no livelihood in England could be put in the

way of earning their bread, and so be saved from debt. To found a colony specially fitted for such a class seemed the readiest cure for the evil. Moreover Oglethorpe, being a good soldier and a patriotic man, thought that the same scheme might be turned to account as a check on the Spaniards, who, as we have seen, threatened the southern counties of Carolina. In 1732, Oglethorpe and other benevolent men formed a company to carry out this plan. They obtained a charter and a grant of all the land between the rivers Savannah and Alatamaha, to form a province called Georgia, in honour of the King. Thirteen trustees were appointed, with full power to manage the affairs of the colony. At first they were to appoint the Governor and other officers. After four years these appointments were to be made by the Crown. Laws were to be made by the company and approved of by the Privy Council. The settlers themselves were to have no share in the government. Lest the company should try to make profit out of their scheme, no member of it was to hold any paid office in the colony. All the arrangements kept in view the two main ends, to make Georgia both a fit settlement for needy men working with their own hands and a strong outpost against the Spaniards. Most of the settlers were to be poor people, released debtors and bankrupt tradesmen, and those who, having large families, were in receipt of parish relief. These were to be sent out at the expense of the company. But, beside these, the company were ready to receive settlers who might choose to go out at their own expense. Still they wished to make it specially a poor man's settlement. With this view they prohibited slavery, as likely to interfere with free labour and to give rich men an advantage. Besides, a revolt of the slaves would have been specially dangerous with neighbours like the Spaniards on the frontier. No one was to hold more than five hundred acres of land, and, in order to keep

up the number of proprietors, no land was allowed to be sold, and, if a man left no son, his lot was to become the property of the company. The object of this rule was to ensure a sufficient number of men fit for service in war. For the same reason all the settlers were to be drilled as soldiers. As some of the settlers were likely to be of unsteady habits, no rum was to be imported. The company hoped to have among their settlers some German Protestants, many of whom had lately been driven from their homes by fierce persecution, and with this view a clause was inserted in the charter providing that all foreigners who settled in Georgia should have the same rights as English citizens. So too men of all religions, except Roman Catholics, were to enjoy equal rights. To guard against any dispute with its English neighbours, the colony was set free by the Crown from any right which Carolina might have claimed over the land south of the Savannah.

2. *First Settlement.*—Oglethorpe was appointed Governor of the colony, with power to choose a site for a settlement, and to manage all public affairs. On the 16th of November, 1732, he sailed from Gravesend with a hundred and twenty emigrants. On the 13th of January they landed in Carolina, where they were kindly received. Oglethorpe went up the river Savannah to select a place for a settlement. He chose a piece of high ground, round which the river flowed in the shape of a horse-shoe. It was about ten miles from the sea, and commanded a view of the river to its mouth. This was an advantage, as there was always a danger of the settlement being attacked by the Spaniards from the sea. The town was to be called Savannah, after the river. At the same time Oglethorpe made an alliance with the chief of the Creeks, the most powerful Indian nation in that quarter. On the 1st of February the colonists arrived at Savannah. The people of Carolina assisted them with supplies of food. In May Ogle-

thorpe held a conference with the Creeks. They promised not to meddle with the English settlers, and to let them occupy any land that they did not need for themselves. Presents were then exchanged; the Indians gave buckskins; Oglethorpe, guns, ammunition, cloth, and spirits.

3. *German and Scotch Emigrants.*—Next year a band of German emigrants came over. They had been driven from Salzburg by a persecuting archbishop. Oglethorpe gave them their choice of land, and they settled about twenty miles west of Savannah. They were well received both by English and Indians, and soon formed a prosperous settlement. In April, 1734, Oglethorpe returned to England, taking with him some of the Creek chiefs. The trustees now began to learn that men who had failed in England were not very likely to succeed in a colony. Accordingly they sent out some more German Protestants and a number of Scotch Highlanders. The latter, from their hardihood and warlike habits, were specially fitted for a colony which was likely to have to defend itself by arms. On his return to Georgia, Oglethorpe set to work to colonise the southern frontier. He planted a body of emigrants on an island at the mouth of the Alatomaha, and called the settlement Frederica. This was intended to guard the colony against an attack from the south. The Highlanders were posted on the river sixteen miles inland. Another settlement called Augusta was founded two hundred and thirty miles up the river Savannah to guard the western frontier. Augusta and Frederica were both fortified, and other forts were erected near the mouth of the Alatomaha.

4. *Dispute between Oglethorpe and the Settlers.*—In the meantime disputes had arisen at Savannah. Some of the settlers drew up a statement of their grievances, and laid it before the trustees. Their chief complaints were that Causton, whom Oglethorpe had left in charge of affairs, was tyrannical

and unjust ; that the colony could not thrive without the use of negroes ; that the prohibition of rum was injurious ; that many of the settlers could not earn a livelihood ; and that the state of the colony was so wretched that its inhabitants seized every opportunity of fleeing to Carolina. Some of these complaints seem to have been well founded. Causton's misconduct was so clear that he was removed from his office by Oglethorpe. The demand for rum was supported by the statements that the water of the country was too unwholesome to be drunk by itself ; that, as rum was the chief product of the West Indies, the prohibition stopped the trade with those islands, and that thus the Georgia settlers lost the best market for their goods. As for the negroes, the only respectable settlers, the Highlanders and the Germans, protested that slaves would be both needless and dangerous. Still there is no doubt that the other emigrants were less fitted for hard work, and the sight of the Carolina settlers living on the proceeds of slave labour may naturally have made them wish for the same relief. It was also true that many of the settlers had fled, but generally because Oglethorpe had deprived some of the most idle and worthless of their share of food from the public stores. Still, if the grievances had been presented in a temperate and respectful way, they might have been considered, but those who took the chief part in complaining were lazy and dissolute, and mixed up their statements with violent and unjust abuse of Oglethorpe. Thus the trustees took little or no notice of them.

5. Dealings with the neighbouring Spanish Colonists.—Oglethorpe soon had other troubles on his hands. Early in 1736, he sent an embassy to confer with the Spaniards about the boundaries of the colony, which were still unsettled. As the embassy did not return for some time, Oglethorpe became uneasy, and sailed to the south to inquire after them. His Indian allies wished to go with him, but he would only take

a small number, lest they should fall out with the Spaniards. An island which they touched at was named by the Indians Cumberland, in honour of the Duke of Cumberland, who had shown their chiefs much kindness when they were in England. Here, and at another island further south, Oglethorpe set up forts, calling them Forts St. Andrew and St. George. These places were not included in the territory of Georgia, and were occupied by Oglethorpe as military outposts against the Spaniards. In a few days Oglethorpe met the embassy returning with civil messages from the Spaniards. He thereupon went back to Savannah. In spite of this show of friendship, Oglethorpe soon had private information that the Spaniards were plotting against his colony. He feared that his Indian friends might attack the Spaniards, and thus give them a pretext for making war on Georgia. He took steps to prevent this by keeping a boat constantly on guard upon the Alatahama, to prevent, if possible, any Indian from crossing. He then sent an embassy to the Spaniards, to tell them what he had done. At the same time he sent to Carolina for help both by sea and land, and fortified and victualled Frederica. For some time nothing was heard of the embassy. Alarmed at this, Oglethorpe sailed to the south. On reaching the frontier, he learnt that the Spaniards were advancing. They believed, as he afterwards found, that all the forces of the colony were at Frederica, and accordingly they were about to attack Fort St. George. Oglethorpe however fired his guns in such a way as to make the Spaniards suppose that a ship and a battery on land were saluting one another. Thus he tricked the Spaniards into the belief that fresh forces had come up, and they retreated in confusion. A few days later they sent an embassy which met Oglethorpe near Frederica. Their meeting was friendly. The Spaniards promised to make amends for some wrongs that they had done the Indians, and Oglethorpe at the same time agreed

to withdraw his soldiers from Fort St. George. This he did, and stationed them instead on an island somewhat further north, which he named Amelia Island.

6. Alliance with the Indians. — Things now were quiet enough for Oglethorpe to return to England. While he was there the Spanish Ambassador presented a memorial to the English Government, requesting that no more troops should be sent to Georgia, and that Oglethorpe should not be allowed to return thither. This request was of course disregarded, and in September, 1738, Oglethorpe went back, having raised a regiment in England for the defence of the colony. In October a mutiny broke out among his troops, caused, it was thought, by the intrigues of the Spaniards; but it was easily quelled. In the next summer Oglethorpe undertook a long and difficult journey into the Indian country, to see some of the chiefs and stop negotiations which he heard were going forward between the Indians and the Spaniards. For two hundred miles he saw neither house nor human being. When he reached the Indian settlements, the fame of his goodness and his friendship for the Indians had gone before him, and he was received with all kindness and hospitality. The Indians complained of wrongs done them by some traders from Carolina. Oglethorpe promised to make amends for these, and a treaty was arranged.

7. War with Spain. — In this autumn the war between England and Spain, which had long seemed at hand, broke out. The Spaniards, like the English, forbade all foreign vessels to trade with their colonies. This law was broken by English merchants, and, in consequence, the Spanish guardships frequently stopped and searched our vessels. Many stories were afloat, some probably true, others certainly exaggerated, if not false, of the cruelties inflicted by Spanish officials on English sailors. One man in particular, named Jenkins, excited great public indignation by declaring that

the Spaniards had cut off his ears. Besides this, the Spanish Government demanded that the colony in Georgia should be removed, as it threatened the frontier of Florida. Walpole, then at the head of the ministry, did not think there was ground enough for war, but it was clear that both Parliament and the nation were against him, and that he would have to declare war or to resign. He loved the peace of his country well, but he loved his own power better, and yielded. In October, 1739, war was declared, and Oglethorpe received orders to annoy Florida. The first blow was struck by the Spaniards. In December they fell upon the force at Amelia Island, but retreated after killing two Highlanders. Oglethorpe, though ill supplied with arms and ammunition, thought that his best policy was to act on the offensive, and march boldly on St. Augustine, the chief Spanish fort. He could depend on the Indians, and many of the settlers were able and ready for service. His first step was to send out a small force, which captured a Spanish outpost called Picolata. It was important to hasten proceedings, as the English navy was now blockading Cuba, the chief Spanish island in the West Indies, and thus the Spaniards in Florida were less likely to receive any help. Unluckily, the Government of Carolina were slow in sending Oglethorpe the help that he asked for. In May he determined to set forth without it, and with his own regiment, numbering four hundred, some of the Georgia Militia, and a body of Indians, he marched into the Spanish territory. At first things went well with him. He captured three small forts, and met with no serious opposition till he reached St. Augustine. This was a strongly fortified place, and well furnished with artillery. The number of men in it was two thousand, about the same as the whole English land force. Oglethorpe resolved on a joint attack by sea and land. But the commodore commanding the English ships found that the enemy had effectually secured their harbour, so that plan

was abandoned. Oglethorpe then attempted to bombard the place, but without success. The Spaniards then made a sortie, and fell upon a small force that Oglethorpe had left in one of the captured forts. If Oglethorpe's orders had been obeyed, his troops would have avoided an engagement, but they despised the enemy, they rashly allowed themselves to be surrounded, and were nearly all killed or taken. About the same time Oglethorpe lost some of his Indian allies. One of them thought to please him by bringing him the head of a Spaniard. Oglethorpe indignantly ordered him out of his sight. The Indians took offence at this, and many of them departed. It was soon seen that the English fleet could not keep the Spaniards from bringing in supplies from the sea, and that any attempt at a blockade would be useless. Oglethorpe then resolved to try his first plan of an assault, and made all preparations. But before the time came the fleet withdrew, driven away, as their commanders said, by fear of hurricanes. The Carolina troops, who had now come up, were but little help, and some of them, even officers, deserted. Many of Oglethorpe's own men were sick. It was soon clear that the attack must be abandoned, and in June Oglethorpe retreated. Though he had failed in his main object, yet his march probably kept the Spaniards in check, and withheld them for some time from any active operations against Georgia or Carolina.

8. Invasion of Georgia.—In the autumn of 1740, England sent out one of the finest fleets that she had ever put on the sea, to act against the Spaniards in the West Indies. There were thirty ships of the line and eighty-five other vessels, with fifteen thousand seamen and a land force of twelve thousand soldiers on board. Unluckily, Admiral Vernon, who commanded the fleet, and General Wentworth, who commanded the land force, could not agree, and nothing was done. In the following July an attack was made on Cuba,

but it was an utter failure, and the Spaniards were left free to employ all their forces against the English settlements. Accordingly, early in 1742 they made ready for an invasion. The wisdom of Oglethorpe's arrangements was now seen. The woods, held as they were by Indians friendly to the English, were a sufficient guard on the land side. Thus the Spaniards could make their attack only from the sea. As they could not safely leave a strong place like Frederica in their rear, it was necessary as a first step to take it, and thus it became the key of the country. St. Simons, the island on which Frederica stood, was about twelve miles long and from two to five miles broad. Frederica was on the west side facing the mainland, and the only approach to it was a road running for two miles between a forest and a marsh, and so narrow that only two men could go abreast. On every other side Frederica was protected by thick woods. On the 5th of July the Spaniards began by attacking St. Simons, a fort on the east side of the island. They had a fleet of thirty-six ships, but were beaten off by the batteries, after an engagement which lasted four hours. Oglethorpe however, doubting whether St. Simons could be defended, destroyed it, lest it should fall into the enemy's hands, and collected his whole force in Frederica. Two days later his Indian scouts brought news that the Spaniards were two miles from the town. Oglethorpe at once marched out at the head of his light troops, fell upon the Spanish vanguard and routed them, taking two prisoners with his own hand. He pursued the Spaniards for about a mile, and then halted till his regular troops had come up. These he posted in the woods, and returned to Frederica to prepare for defence. The Spaniards marched forward and halted within a hundred yards of the main ambush, who opened a heavy fire upon them. In spite of the disgraceful flight of the larger part of the English force, the Spaniards were utterly defeated with a loss of three

hundred, besides those who fled to the woods and were there killed by the Indians. The Spaniards, having failed by land, tried an attack by sea, but were beaten off by the guns of the fort. Nevertheless the English were far from safe. Their stock of food was scanty, and if this and the smallness of their force became known, the enemy were almost sure to return to the attack. The English therefore were much alarmed when they found that a Frenchman who had joined them with some volunteers had fled to the Spaniards. In this strait Oglethorpe bribed a Spanish prisoner to take a letter professedly to the Frenchman, but really meant to fall into the hands of the Spanish commander. This letter told the Frenchman that he was to be rewarded for misleading the Spaniards as to the English force, and so tempting them to rush into destruction. The Spaniards fell into the trap, and believed that the Frenchman was really a friend to the English. Oglethorpe had also said in his letter, to alarm the Spaniards, that he expected some ships in a day or two. Just at this time, by good fortune, some English ships appeared in the distance. This confirmed the Spaniards in their distrust, and they at once embarked hastily, leaving their fire-arms and ammunition behind them. On their way back they attacked some of the English forts, but were beaten off, and then retreated into their own territories. On the 14th of July a public thanksgiving was celebrated in Georgia for the deliverance of the colony. After their defeat no further attempt was made by the Spaniards to molest the English settlements.

9. *Oglethorpe's Departure.*—Next year Oglethorpe sailed to England, and never again visited the colony that he had founded and saved. But his memory was long held in honour there, and a city and county were called after him, and kept alive his name. Of all the founders of American colonies, from Raleigh onwards, none deserve such high honour as

Oglethorpe. Penn laboured unsparingly and wisely, but it was for a sect to which he belonged, and for a colony which bore his name. Winthrop and his friends left their homes and gave up all their hopes of prosperity and greatness in England, but it was to become the rulers of a new State and to win a refuge from tyranny for themselves and their children. Oglethorpe, urged by a yet nobler and more unselfish spirit, overcame the temptations of riches and high birth, cast behind him the pleasures of the world and forsook the society of friends, to spend the best years of his life in toil and hardship, with no hope of earthly reward beyond the fickle gratitude of those whom he served.

10. *Georgia becomes a Royal Colony.*—After Oglethorpe's departure, the trustees placed the government in the hands of a President and four assistants. They were to hold four courts a year, to manage the affairs of the colony and to try law-suits, but they might not spend money without the consent of the trustees. It was soon found that some of the restraints placed on the settlers were injurious to the colony. In the first seven years Parliament granted 94,000*l.* towards the advancement of the settlement, and fifteen hundred emigrants were sent out from England, but not more than half of these stayed in Georgia. The trustees thought that the restriction on the sale of land had led many of the settlers to leave the colony, and accordingly they removed it. Still the colony did not thrive. Nearly all the inhabitants, except the Germans and the Highlanders, were idle and discontented. In 1752 the trustees, dissatisfied with the result, gave up their charter to the crown. A government was established, modelled on that of South Carolina. The prohibition of slavery and of the importation of rum was done away with, and Georgia became in every respect like the other southern colonies.

CHAPTER XV.

THE CONQUEST OF CANADA AND OF THE OHIO VALLEY.

The French in Louisiana (1)—Washington in the Ohio Valley (2)—the Albany conference (3)—Braddock's defeat (4)—Washington in command (5)—conquest of Southern Acadia (6)—banishment of the Acadians (7)—attack on Canada (8)—conquest of the Ohio Valley (9)—the conquest of Canada (10)—the Cherokee war (11)—the peace of Paris (12)—Pontiac's war (13).

I. The French in Louisiana.—Besides Canada, the French had another colony in North America. This was Louisiana, a fertile tract of land at the mouth of the Mississippi. In 1673, Marquette, a Jesuit missionary, starting from Canada, had penetrated into the countries now forming the States of Wisconsin and Illinois, and had journeyed some way down the Mississippi. A few years later, La Salle, a French fur-trader, descended the Mississippi to the sea. In 1684 he persuaded the French government to found a colony at the mouth of the river. He then explored the whole valley of the Mississippi; but, before he could bring back the report of his discoveries, he was murdered by two of his own followers. The position of this southern French colony threatened the English settlements with not a little danger. If once the French could connect Canada and Louisiana by a continuous range of forts along the valleys of the Ohio and the Mississippi, they would completely surround the English settlements. They would form, as it has been described, a bow, of which the English colonies were the string. Even if these did not annoy the English settlers, they would withhold them from spreading towards the west. William III. saw the danger of this, and planned a scheme

for placing a number of French Protestants on the Mississippi as a check on the French settlements there. This however came to nothing. Like Canada, Louisiana was, in its early years, unprosperous. But about 1730 it began to flourish, and in a few years it contained seven thousand inhabitants. Measured by actual numbers, the French colonies seemed no match for the English. In 1740 the former contained only fifty-two thousand Europeans, the latter more than a million. But their alliance with the Indians, and the strength of their position, made the French dangerous. Moreover they had the advantage of being all under a single governor.

2. *Washington in the Ohio Valley.*—The two French colonies were separated by the valleys of the Ohio and the Mississippi. Between the Ohio and Virginia lay dense forests and a range of mountains, the Alleghanies, rising at some points to four thousand feet, and in few places to less than three thousand. The French and English both claimed this territory, the former on the strength of Marquette's and La Salle's discoveries, the latter by a treaty made with the Mohawks in 1744. It seemed doubtful however whether the lands in question really belonged to the Mohawks, and also whether the treaty gave the English more than the east side of the river. But in a dispute of such importance between two nations who had been lately at war, neither side was likely to be very scrupulous as to the grounds of its claims. Before 1750 no regular settlements had been formed by the English beyond the Alleghanies, and the mountains had only been crossed by traders. But in that year a small body of rich men in England, called the Ohio Company, obtained from the king a grant of six hundred thousand acres of land in the Ohio valley. This, as probably was expected, soon brought the dispute to an issue. In 1752 the French governor proceeded to connect Canada and Louisiana by a

line of forts. Thereupon Dinwiddie, the governor of Virginia, sent a commissioner to warn the French commander that he was trespassing, and to find out the real state of affairs there. For this task he chose George Washington. He was twenty-one years old, of good family, brought up as a land-surveyor. That he stood high in the governor's esteem is shown by his holding a commission as major in the Virginia militia, and being chosen, in spite of his youth, for this difficult service. After a wearisome journey through the wilderness, Washington reached the spot where the Alleghany and Mononhangela meet to form the Ohio. These rivers here run in a westerly direction. About ten miles further up, the Mononhangela is joined by another river of some size, the Youghioghany. Besides this, two smaller streams rise in the land between the Alleghany and the Mononhangela, and fall one into each river. Thus the fork of land between the two rivers was strongly guarded on every side by water. Its position was in other ways suitable for a fort. Washington was well received by the Indians, who had already met the French. The French they regarded as trespassers, while they do not seem to have suspected the English of being anything more than traders. The French fort lay a hundred and twenty miles beyond the meeting of the streams. On Washington's arrival the French commander received him with great civility, but he professed to have no power to make terms, and said that any application must be made to the governor of Canada; he himself was only acting under orders, and could not withdraw. On his return Dinwiddie at once called together the Assembly and laid the matter before them. Some of them questioned the English claim to the lands, but at length they voted 10,000*l.* for the encouragement and protection of the settlers in the west. At the same time Dinwiddie wrote to the governors of the other colonies to ask for help. North

Carolina alone answered to the call, and voted 12,000/. There were now in the colonies three classes of soldiers. I. There were the militia of each colony. II. There were the colonial regular troops, raised by each colony at its own expense. These, like the militia, were commanded by officers appointed by the governor of the colony. III. There were the king's Americans; regiments raised in the colonies, but commanded by officers commissioned by the king. These last were dependent solely on the crown, and had no connexion with any colony in particular. The crown also had the right of appointing superior officers, whose command extended over the first and second, as well as over the third class. It does not seem to have been clearly settled whether the colonial officers took equal rank with the king's officers, and this question gave rise to many disputes and to much inconvenience. The Virginia force consisted, beside the militia, of six companies of a hundred men each, of which Washington was lieutenant-colonel. To quicken their zeal and to get recruits, Dinwiddie promised a grant of two hundred thousand acres of land on the Ohio, to be divided among the troops, and to be free of all rent for fifteen years. This also was to serve as a standing military outpost. In April, Washington set out towards the Ohio, with three companies. He sent a small party in advance, who began to build a fort at the meeting of the rivers. The French surrounded this fort, compelled the occupants to retire, and took possession of the place, which they strengthened and called Fort Duquesne. News of this reached Washington when he was about ninety miles off. The French force was believed to be much stronger than his; nevertheless he decided to push on and take up a position on the banks of the Mononhangela. Soon after he learned from the Indians that a small force was marching towards him. On May 27th he set off with forty soldiers and some Indians, and the next day he met the enemy. It is

uncertain which side began the engagement. After a short skirmish, the French force, which numbered about fifty, was defeated; the commander, Jumonville, and ten others were killed, and twenty-two captured. The French have represented this as a treacherous onslaught made on men who had come on a peaceful embassy. Washington, on the other hand, declared that the French evidently approached with hostile intentions. The French also represented that Jumonville was murdered during a conference. This was undoubtedly false, and throws discredit on their whole story. After the fight, Washington, finding that the whole French force would be upon him, entrenched himself at a spot called Great Meadow, some fifty miles from Fort Duquesne. On the 2nd of July he was attacked by a force of about seven hundred men. The engagement lasted from four in the morning till eight at night. The French then demanded a parley. Washington, finding that he could not hold his ground, surrendered the fort, on condition that he might carry off all his effects except his artillery. He also promised not to occupy that place, or any other beyond the Alleghany Mountains, for a year. In spite of his retreat, Washington's conduct was highly approved of, and he and his officers received a vote of thanks from the Virginian assembly. Dinwiddie was for sending out at once another and a larger expedition; but it was soon clear that, before anything effective could be done, snow and frost would make the mountains impassable.

3. *The Albany Conference.*—During this same summer, by the recommendation of the English government, deputies from the different colonies met at Albany, to discuss a general scheme of defence. Representatives attended from New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut New York, and Pennsylvania. At the suggestion of Shirley, the governor of Massachusetts, they discussed a scheme for an

union of all the colonies. The author of this scheme was Benjamin Franklin, a native of Boston, who had emigrated in his youth to Pennsylvania. He was by trade a printer. By his energy and ability he had become one of the most influential men in his own colony. In Philadelphia he had already introduced many useful improvements, an academy, a public library, a fire brigade, and a board for paving and cleaning the streets. He now proposed that the colonies should apply to Parliament for an Act uniting them all under one government. The separate colonial governments were to remain as before, but there was to be one federal government over them all. There was to be a president appointed by the king, and a board of representatives elected by the people of each colony. The number of representatives from each colony was to be proportionate to its contribution to the general treasury. But the scheme was unpopular both in England and in the colonies. The English government feared that it would make the colonies too strong, while the Americans disliked it as increasing the authority of the crown and interfering with the different colonial assemblies. Thus the scheme fell to the ground. At the same time Franklin proposed that two fresh colonies should be formed in the disputed territory. This too came to nothing.

4. *Braddock's Defeat.*—In 1755 a force under the command of General Braddock was sent out from England to protect the American frontier. The Virginia regiment had been broken up into six separate companies. By this change Washington had been reduced from the rank of lieutenant-colonel to that of a captain. Disgusted at this, he had resigned his commission. He was now asked to serve as a volunteer with Braddock, and gladly accepted the offer. At the outset of the campaign Braddock was hindered by the misconduct of the contractors, who failed to supply the wag-gons that they had promised. This difficulty was overcome

by the activity and ability of Franklin. On the 9th of July, 1755, Braddock, with twelve hundred picked men, forded the Mononhangela and entered the valley of the Ohio. Franklin had reminded him of the danger of a march in the woods, and the fear of ambuscades, but Braddock scorned the warning, as coming from a colonist and a civilian. Just after the whole force had crossed the Mononhangela, they heard a quick and heavy fire in their front. The two foremost detachments fell back, and the whole force was in confusion. The officers, conspicuous on horseback, were picked off by riflemen. Braddock had five horses killed under him, and was at length mortally wounded. The officers behaved with great courage, and strove to rally their troops, but in vain. The men lost all sense of discipline, fired so wildly that they did more harm to their own side than to the enemy, and then fled, leaving their artillery, provisions, and baggage. The colonial troops alone behaved well; Washington himself had two horses shot under him, and four bullets through his coat, and yet was unhurt. The total loss in killed and wounded was over seven hundred, while that of the enemy did not amount to one hundred. Braddock died two days afterwards, and was buried secretly, lest his body should be insulted by the Indians.

5. **Washington in Command.**—In the next summer Washington was appointed colonel of the Virginia forces, including the militia and the colonial regulars. Few commanders have ever had a harder task set before them. The frontier was attacked by bands of Indians, urged on by the French. Living, as the Virginians did, each on his own separate plantation, such attacks were specially dangerous. Washington wished them to collect together in small settlements, but his advice does not seem to have been followed. The rich valley of the Shenandoah, the furthest land on which the English colonists had settled, seemed likely to be wholly deserted.

Meanwhile the defences of the frontier were in a state of utter weakness and confusion. Washington was ill supplied with stores and men. Desertions became so frequent that at one time nearly one-half of the militia was employed in capturing the other half. No one clearly knew what were the limits of Washington's power, or how far he had any authority over the forces sent out from other colonies. The neighbouring governments too were backward in sending help. The governors were for the most part zealous, but the Assemblies were so jealous of anything like arbitrary power that they were more anxious to restrain their governors than to further the common cause. In Pennsylvania, which with Virginia was in the greatest danger, the Governor and Assembly could not agree about taxation. The Assembly were willing to grant a supply ; but the Governor, in obedience to the proprietors, insisted that the proprietary lands should be free from taxation. To this the Assembly naturally objected, and no money could be raised. Moreover each colony cared only for the defence of its own frontier. Even among the Virginians themselves this feeling prevailed, and Washington was more than once hindered by the anxiety of his officers to guard their own plantations.

6. Conquest of Southern Acadia.—On the northern frontier matters were not much better. In 1755 three expeditions were prepared against Canada. The first was planned altogether by the Massachusetts Government. Its object was to recover the country between the peninsula of Acadia and the St. Lawrence, which the English claimed under the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, and which now is called New Brunswick. For this a force of seven hundred men was sent out in May. The French forts were weakly defended, and by June the New Englanders found themselves masters of the whole territory south of the St. Lawrence.

7. Banishment of the Acadians.—When Acadia was given

up to the English in 1712, the French inhabitants took the oath of allegiance to the English Government. At the same time they asked not to be forced in time of war to take up arms against the French. No formal agreement was made, but it seems to have been understood that they would be allowed to stand neutral. At the capture of Fort Beaujeu, the chief French fortress taken by the New Englanders, three hundred Acadians were found among the garrison. The Acadians themselves declared that they had been impressed against their will by the French commander. The English Government however was afraid to leave a people of doubtful loyalty in a place of such importance, and resolved to banish them in a body. This may have been necessary, but it was undoubtedly carried out with needless harshness. At five days' notice more than ten thousand persons were banished from their homes. Nothing was done by the English in authority to lighten this blow, much to increase it. Families were torn asunder, and a prosperous and peaceful country reduced to a wilderness. Some of the Acadians escaped to Canada, but most were shipped to the English colonies, where many were left to beg their bread among people of a different race and speech.

8. *Attack on Canada.*—Besides the expedition from Massachusetts, two others were made, which had been planned by Braddock before he set out himself. One force under General Johnson was to occupy Ticonderoga, an important place on Lake St. George, hitherto neglected by the French. Dieskan, the French commander in Canada, marched out against Johnson. At first the French had the best of it, but the militia and the Indian allies could not stand against the English artillery ; Dieskan was compelled to retreat, and in the retreat received his death-wound. The English, however, failed to follow up their success, and allowed the French to occupy Ticonderoga. The other force, that under Shirley,

contented itself with fortifying Oswego, a place on the frontier of New York. Hitherto hostilities had been confined to America, but in the next year war was formally declared between England and France. 115,000*l.* was sent out by the English Government for the defence of the colonies, and preparations were made for a great American campaign. But, partly through the slackness of the various colonial governments, partly through an outbreak of small-pox among the troops, nothing whatever was done. Montcalm, Dieskan's successor, was a brave and skilful soldier. With five thousand men he marched against Oswego, and took it. This place was on the territory of the Mohawks, and they had looked on its fortification with jealousy. Montcalm, to assure them that the French had no designs against them, destroyed the fort. Next year things went on much as before. Montcalm captured Fort William Henry, an English stronghold on the upper waters of the Hudson. In this year a dispute arose between the English commander-in-chief, Lord Loudon, and two of the colonial governments, those of New York and Massachusetts. The colonists denied that the Act of Parliament which provided for the billeting of soldiers was binding on the colonies, and declared that special leave must be granted by the various colonial governments. New York soon gave way. Massachusetts was so obstinate that Lord Loudon threatened to march all his troops into Boston. The Massachusetts Government then came to a compromise. It passed an Act ordering that the soldiers should have the accommodation that they needed. Thus, while the colonists yielded, they implied, by passing this law, that the Act of Parliament did not bind them.

9. Conquest of the Ohio Valley.—The ill-fortune of the English arms was not confined to America. In Europe we were defeated by sea and land. The spirit of the nation seemed utterly broken. But a mighty change was at hand

in 1758, Pitt became Secretary of State, with a strong and popular ministry at his back. He breathed fresh life into our forces in every quarter. Nowhere was the change more felt than in America. Pitt, beyond all statesmen then living, understood the importance of the American colonies, and knew how to deal with their inhabitants. He ordered that the colonial troops should be supplied with munitions at the expense of the English Government. At the same time he won the hearts of the Americans by an order that the colonial officers should hold equal rank with those commissioned by the crown. He also planned an expedition against Fort Duquesne. Washington had repeatedly urged the necessity of this, declaring that the colonies would never be safe so long as that post was held by the French. The expedition was somewhat hindered by the commander, General Forbes, who, instead of marching along the road already made by Braddock, insisted on cutting a fresh one, more direct, but over a more difficult country. It was believed in America that he was persuaded to this by the Pennsylvanians, to whom the new road was a lasting gain. An advanced detachment of four hundred men shared the fate of Braddock's army. But, when the main body of six thousand men advanced, the French, finding themselves too weak to hold the fort, retreated. Thus it was decided that England, and not France, was to possess the valley of the Ohio and the rich territory of the west. The name of Fort Duquesne was changed to Pittsburgh, in honour of the statesman to whom the colonists owed this great gain.

10. *The Conquest of Canada.*—Two other expeditions were sent out this year; the first against Cape Breton, the second against Ticonderoga. These were warmly supported by the colonists. Massachusetts sent seven thousand men, Connecticut five thousand, and New Hampshire three thousand. The whole force sent against Louisburg, the chief

stronghold in Cape Breton, consisted of fourteen thousand men. Against this the French had little more than three thousand. The defeat of the French fleet by Admiral Hawke, off Brest, made it impossible to send help to Canada, and Louisburg surrendered. This gave the English possession of the whole island of Cape Breton. The other expedition was less successful. In a fruitless attempt against Ticonderoga, General Abercrombie lost two thousand men, and retreated. This failure was to some extent made up for by the capture of Fort Frontenac, a strong place on the west side of Lake Ontario. The next year, three armies were sent against Canada. One under General Wolfe was to ascend the St. Lawrence, and attack Quebec. A second was to march against Ticonderoga, and then to descend the St. Lawrence, and join Wolfe. The third was to attack Niagara and Montreal, and then, if possible, to join the other two. The two latter forces failed to join Wolfe, who was then left to attack Quebec single-handed. Quebec stands on a rock over the St. Lawrence, and just above the junction of that river with the St. Charles. Thus it is placed in a fork of the two rivers, and being guarded on three sides by water, can only be attacked from the north-west. To reach it on that side, Wolfe would have to cross the St. Lawrence and to scale its north bank, which is lofty and precipitous. Another river, the Montmorency, joins the St. Lawrence about six miles below Quebec. The French force under Montcalm was stationed between the Montmorency and the St. Charles. The position of the town seemed to defy an attack, and even the fearless heart of Wolfe sank. With little hope of success, he crossed the St. Lawrence below its meeting with the Montmorency, and attacked Montcalm, but was beaten back, partly through the eagerness of his vanguard, who rushed forward before the main body could cross the Montmorency to support them. As a last resource Wolfe resolved to cross

the river above Quebec, and to attack the town from the north-west. The stream was rapid, the landing difficult, and the precipice above the river could only be climbed by one narrow path. Nevertheless the English army crossed in the night, and safely reached the heights above the river. So desperate did this attempt seem that, when Montcalm heard of it, he imagined that it was only a feint to draw him from his post. When he learned his error, he at once marched by the city and made ready for battle. After a fierce engagement, in which Wolfe was killed and Montcalm mortally wounded, the French were defeated. The battle decided the fate of Quebec. Montcalm, when told that he had but a few hours to live, replied that it was best so, as he should escape seeing Quebec surrendered. No attempt was made to defend the place, and it was given up to the English, who garrisoned it with five thousand men. In the next campaign, the whole energies of the French were devoted to the recovery of Quebec. Sickness reduced the garrison to three thousand. Nevertheless, when the French army appeared, Murray, the English commander, marched out, and engaged them on the same ground on which Wolfe had triumphed. This time the French were successful, and the English troops retreated to the city with a loss of a thousand men. The French then proceeded to bombard the place. Fortunately the river, which was usually blocked with ice till late in the spring, that year became open unusually early, and the English fleet was able to sail up and relieve the city. The French now fell back upon Montreal, their only important stronghold left. A force of more than ten thousand men appeared before the place; Montreal surrendered, and the rest of Canada soon followed.

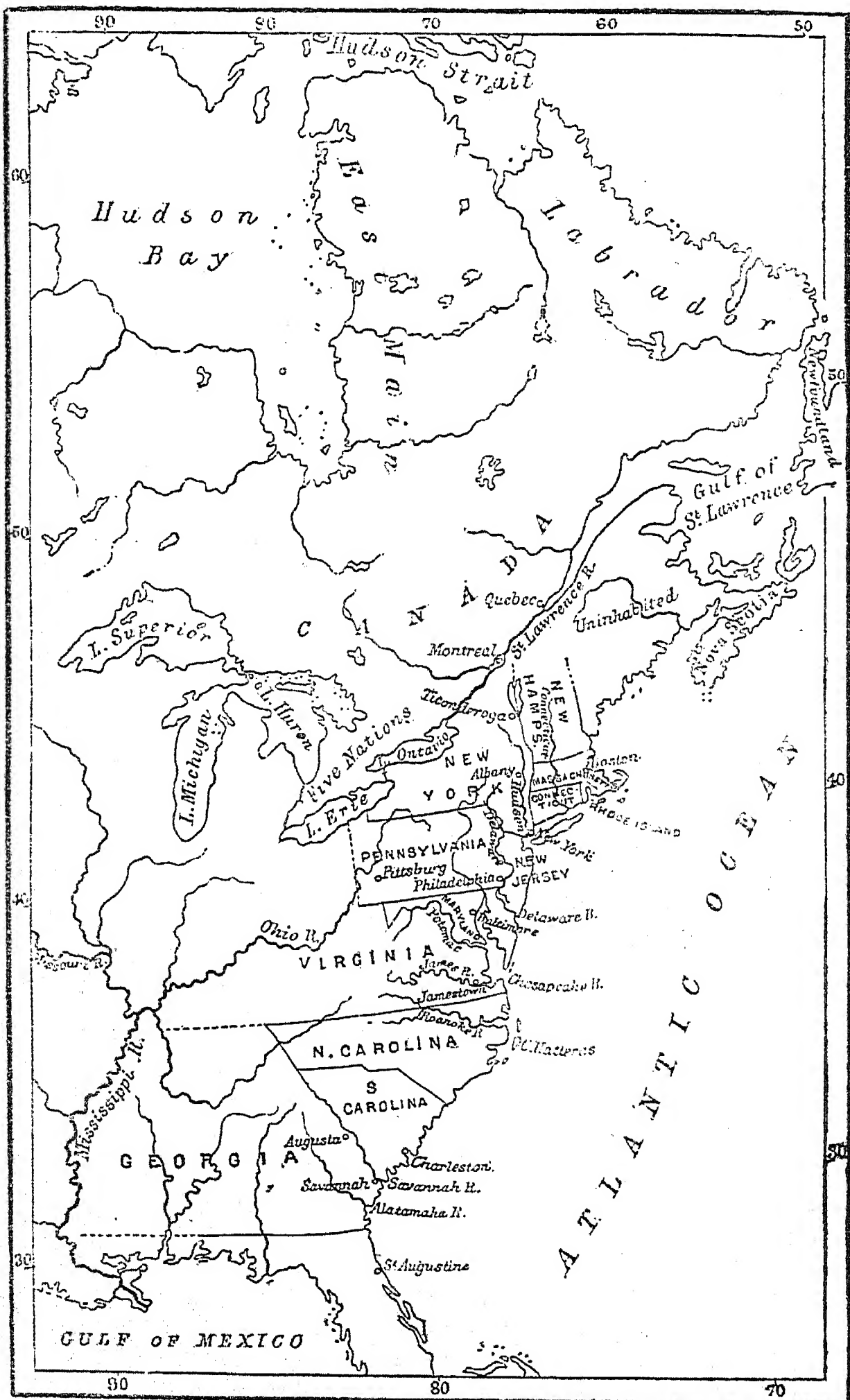
II. The Cherokee War.—In the meantime the southern colonies had become engaged in a war with their Indian allies. The Cherokees, the most powerful and warlike of the

southern tribes, had been dissatisfied with their treatment by the English, and, being pressed by want of food, had plundered some settlements on the Virginian frontier. Hostilities followed, in which some Cherokee chiefs and some Carolina settlers were slain. Lyttelton, the governor of South Carolina, demanded the surrender of one Cherokee for every Englishman killed. The Indians refused, and Lyttelton declared war on them. They then sent messengers to excuse what they had done, and to offer presents. Lyttelton not only refused to hear them, but arrested them. The Cherokee chiefs thereupon signed a treaty, promising to surrender twenty-four of their nation, and allowing Lyttelton to keep his prisoners till this was done. But the Cherokee nation afterwards disclaimed the treaty, and declared that it had been made without their authority. Soon after, the English officer who had charge of the hostages was murdered by the Indians. His men in revenge killed the hostages. War now broke out, and the English invaded and desolated the Cherokee country. At the same time the Cherokees besieged and captured Fort Loudon, an English fort on the Tennessee. In a spirit of rude justice they put to death twenty-seven of the prisoners, including the commander, that being the number of the ambassadors seized by Lyttelton. The rest they carried off as captives. During 1760 and 1761, the English wasted the Cherokee country, but failed to strike any decisive blow. In September 1761 however the Cherokees, wearied out, sued for peace, and the war ended.

12. *The Peace of Paris.*—The peace of Paris in 1762 completely overthrew the French power in America. Before the terms of peace were settled, doubts had arisen among English statesmen whether it would be best to hold Canada, or to give it back to France, keeping instead Guadaloupe, an island in the West Indies, which had been taken by England

from France, in the course of the war. Some thought that it was well to have French settlements on the frontier, as a check on the English colonists. Pitt, by his anxiety for the conquest of the Ohio Valley, had disclaimed any such ungenerous idea. The colonists themselves wished to be relieved from the duty of guarding a wide frontier. This view prevailed, and Canada and all Louisiana east of the Mississippi became English possessions. The new territory was divided into three provinces, Canada, and East and West Florida, the former to the north of Massachusetts, the two latter to the south of Georgia. These latter must not be confounded with the American state which afterwards bore the name of Florida. The whole territory to the west of the Ohio was to be left unoccupied, partly to conciliate the natives, partly, it was thought, from dread of the rapidly growing strength of the colonies.

13. Pontiac's War.—The English were not suffered to hold their new possessions in the west undisturbed. In 1763 a number of the Indian tribes, headed by Pontiac, a distinguished warrior of the Ottawa nation, took up arms. They destroyed most of the settlements in the Ohio valley, massacred more than a hundred English traders, and drove five hundred families to take refuge in the woods. The two strongest English forts, Detroit and Fort Pitt, were besieged, and were for a while in serious danger, but the garrisons held out bravely. The English were slow in sending help. Maryland and Virginia came forward readily, but Pennsylvania, as in the French war, was backward. As soon as the English forces marched against them, the enemy gave way. Partly from necessity, and partly by the advice of a French officer who had not yet departed, the Indians sued for peace, and the English again held the eastern bank of the Ohio in safety.



Stanford's Geog. Estab., 55 Charing Cross, London.

THE THIRTEEN STATES IN 1750.

CHAPTER XVI.

GENERAL VIEW OF THE THIRTEEN COLONIES.

*Relations between the different colonies (1)—relations to England (2)
—slavery (3)—mode of life (4)—education, literature, and art (5).*

I. *Relations between the Different Colonies.*—Before going further, it will be well to take a general view of the thirteen colonies whose origin we have traced. By 1750 the whole population, not counting negroes, amounted to about a million and a quarter. Certain general points of likeness, as we have seen, ran through the institutions of all the different colonies. All of them had governments which were, to some extent, modelled on that of the mother country. In all the citizens retained their English rights of electing their own representatives and being tried by juries of their own countrymen. But, in spite of these points of likeness, the colonies were marked off from one another by great and manifold differences. Roughly speaking, we may say that the colonies fell into two great groups, the Northern and the Southern; the former taking in those north of Maryland, the latter Maryland and those beyond it. This difference was partly due to climate, and partly to the sources from which the first settlers had been drawn. The latter cause has been already mentioned. The climate and soil of the South were suited to the cultivation of rice and tobacco, crops which require little skill on the part of the husbandman. Moreover, the heat and the unwholesome air of the South, especially in the rice swamps of Carolina, make it difficult for Europeans to work there. Thus slave labour became the usual means of tillage in the South. The climate of the Northern colonies,

on the other hand, needed a system of mixed farming, like our own, which requires intelligence and care, and for which slaves therefore are unfit. Thus the class of yeomanry and peasant farmers, who formed the bulk of the population in the North, were almost unknown in the South. There was also a wide difference in religion between the Northern and Southern colonies. In all the Southern colonies the Church of England was established by law. Its clergy enjoyed tithes and glebes, and the majority of the people belonged to it. The Northern colonies, on the other hand, were for the most part founded by men actively hostile to the Church, and they kept more or less of the character with which they had started. While such differences as these existed, it seemed unlikely that the colonies could ever be combined under a single government. Two other things helped to make this more difficult. The original grants of land had been drawn up so carelessly that there was scarcely a colony which had not had disputes about boundaries with its neighbours, disputes which had sometimes led to actual violence. Moreover, the populations of the various colonies differed widely in size. Massachusetts contained some two hundred thousand inhabitants, Virginia about one hundred and seventy thousand, while North Carolina had only forty thousand, and Rhode Island still less. We have seen how injurious such a difference was to the confederation of the New England colonies. If it was impossible to found a firm and lasting union between four colonies so like in their origin and character, because of that one drawback, how much more would it be so with thirteen colonies differing in religion, climate, character, and to some extent in race. Schemes for union had been at different times suggested, but none got over this difficulty. If the large colonies were allowed any superiority on account of their greater size, then the independence of the smaller colonies would be endangered. If all took equal rank, the

larger colonies might fairly complain that they bore more than an equal share of the burthen without any corresponding gain.

2. Relations to England.—The relation of the colonies generally to the mother country may be to some extent seen from what has gone before. Scarcely any had altogether avoided disputes with the English Government, but nowhere, except perhaps in Massachusetts after the Restoration, had these disputes ever seemed to threaten separation. Various Acts of Parliament were passed, forbidding the colonists to make certain articles for themselves, lest they should interfere with the manufactures of the mother country. But neither these nor the navigation laws, though they sounded harsh, seem to have been felt as a serious grievance. The navigation laws were for the most part set at nought, and few attempts were made on the part of the Custom House officers to enforce them. Sir Robert Walpole, it is said, even admitted that it was well to connive at American smuggling, since of the money made in the colonies the greater part was sure to find its way to England. The restrictions on manufactures were no real hardship, as it was cheaper for the Americans to import articles from England than to make them for themselves. In a country where land is cheap and fertile, and where therefore any man of moderate industry can make his livelihood as a peasant farmer, it is impossible to get artisans without paying much higher wages than are given in a country like England, where land is costly. Thus the colonists could not at that time make articles so cheap as those manufactured in England. In fact, as John Adams, one of the ablest American statesmen, said, America and Europe were two worlds, one fitted for manufacture, the other for production, and each made to supply the wants of the other. The greatest grievance which the colonies had against England was the character of the governors sent out.

Too many of them were men of evil reputation, ruined at home, and looking upon their colonial governments merely as means of retrieving their fortunes. Nothing interfered more with the friendly relations between England and America than the fact that the home government depended on these men for most of its information about the colonies.

3. *Slavery.*—Slavery, as I have already said, was one of the great leading points of difference between the Northern and Southern colonies. By the middle of the eighteenth century slavery had reached such dimensions in the Southern colonies as to be a serious source of uneasiness. In Virginia the number of negroes was two to every three white men. In South Carolina the numbers were equal. The injurious effect on the industry and social life of the Southern colonies was already felt. When once slavery becomes prevalent, labour is looked down upon as a badge of inferiority, and the existence of a class of respectable free labourers becomes impossible. This was from an early time the case in the South. There were other evils attendant on the system. It bred up a set of men whom a Virginian writer describes as “beings called overseers, a most abject, unprincipled race.” The young planter grew up surrounded by slaves, and learned from his very cradle to be arbitrary and self-willed, indifferent to the feelings of others, and accustomed to deal with those who knew no law but his word. In the North the evils of slavery were less felt, but nevertheless they existed. In 1763 the proportion of negroes to the whole population of New-England was only one in fifty. But there, just as in the South, they were treated as an inferior race, and debarred from equal rights. In Massachusetts a negro who struck a white man was liable to be sold as a slave out of the colony. Marriages between white persons and negroes were unlawful, and the clergyman who performed the service was liable to a fine of 50*l*. No negro might be in the streets of Boston

after nine at night. In New York, in 1712, an alarm was raised, apparently without foundation, of a negro plot to burn the city. The supposed conspirators were apprehended, and nineteen of them put to death.

4. *Mode of Life.*—Throughout all the colonies there was abundant prosperity, but little luxury; enough of the necessities, but few of the superfluities, of life. Owing to the abundance of unoccupied country and the consequent cheapness of land, there were scarcely any tenant farmers, and, except the Southern slaveholders, scarcely any large landed proprietors. The plainness of life is well illustrated in letters written from England by Benjamin Franklin to his wife. He tells her that he is sending home table-linen, carpets, and other such articles, as being far superior to any that could be got in America, and he dwells on the ordinary furniture of an English breakfast table as something remarkably luxurious. Indeed, it would seem from his letters that table-cloths were not generally used in America at breakfast. This roughness and plainness was mainly due to the cheapness of land. Where every man could become a farmer, few cared to work as artisans. Moreover, in a young country, all the labour that can be got is needed for bringing the land into cultivation, building houses, making roads, and the like, and little is left for things not absolutely needful. Another result of the cheapness of land was that men were not withheld from early marriages by fear of want, and thus the population increased far more rapidly than it does in old countries.

5. *Education, Literature and Art.*—In one point the Northern colonies from the very first were in advance, not only of the Southern, but of most countries. This was the attention paid to education. In all the New England colonies provision was made for the maintenance of government schools. In all forms of intellectual and literary activity the Northern States, and especially Massachusetts, took the lead.

In 1638 a college was founded at Cambridge in Massachusetts, partly by public funds, partly by private liberality. This was called Harvard College, after its chief benefactor, John Harvard. In Virginia, as we have seen, a college was founded about 1690. Yale College, in Connecticut, came into being in 1701, and by 1762 there were six colleges, all, except that in Virginia, in the northern colonies. Yet, in spite of the spread of education, there were in 1720 no booksellers' shops south of Boston, but only stationers' shops, where common school books could be bought. At Charlestown however, where there was the most educated and polished society to be found in the South, a public library was started in 1700. By the middle of the century these institutions had sprung up throughout the colonies, and became important as means of spreading knowledge. The first American newspaper was the *Boston News Letter*, started in 1704. Another Boston paper appeared in 1719, and one at Philadelphia at the same time. As is usual in a new country where nearly everyone is pressing on to make a livelihood by farming or trade, and where there is little leisure for reading, the colonies had not, before they became independent, produced many writers of note. In the seventeenth century there were in New England a great number of writers on divinity, many of whom played important parts on the Independent side in the great controversy between that sect and the Presbyterians. Few of their works have any lasting interest or value. Besides these a few books were written on the history of the various colonies. By far the best of these books is Stith's *History of Virginia*, published in 1747. The author was a Virginian clergyman, and had access to the private records of the Virginia Company. His book is clear and accurate, and for style it may take rank with the best English writers of that day. Unluckily it does not come down further than the dissolution of the Company. Hubbard's *History of the Indian*

Wars is a minute record of the war with King Philip, marred to some extent by violent prejudice against the natives. Of all American writers during the period through which we have gone, the greatest was Jonathan Edwards. He was born in 1703, and died in 1758. He was the son of an Independent minister in Connecticut; he was brought up at Yale College, became himself a minister, and shortly before his death was appointed President of the college in New Jersey. He wrote on divinity and metaphysics, and is a sort of link between the Puritans of the seventeenth century and the great European philosophers of the eighteenth. The subject perhaps in which Americans most distinguished themselves was natural science. Benjamin Franklin, whom we have already seen and shall see again as a statesman, gained by his discoveries in electricity a place scarcely surpassed by any of the natural philosophers of his age. Indeed it was justly said of him that his exploits either as a statesman or as a philosopher, taken by themselves, would have won him an undying reputation. Godfrey and Rittenhouse were mathematicians of some eminence; and Bartram, a self-taught Pennsylvanian, was described by the famous naturalist, Linnæus, as the greatest natural botanist in the world. James Logan, another Pennsylvanian, wrote books of some merit on natural science and other matters, and at his death in 1751 left a library of four thousand volumes to the city of Philadelphia. In lighter branches of literature, poetry, fiction, and the like, America as yet produced no writers of any repute. This was perhaps because in New England and Pennsylvania, where there was most education and culture, enough of the old Puritan and Quaker temper was left to make men look with some disfavour on such works. Thus when in 1750 an attempt was made to establish a theatre at Boston, it was forbidden by the Assembly as "likely to encourage immorality, impiety, and contempt for

religion." The same causes checked the growth of art. Nevertheless, about the middle of the eighteenth century, there were three American painters of some note, West, Copley, and Stuart. The two former came to England. West gained considerable fame by large historical pictures. His works are for the most part disfigured by the coldness and formality which was common in the last century. Copley obtained some repute as a painter of historical pictures and portraits. His greatest work is a picture of Lord Chatham swooning in the House of Lords, after his last speech there. Copley is perhaps better known as the father of Lord Lyndhurst, the English Lord Chancellor. Stuart remained in America, and painted the portraits of some of the leading American statesmen. His works have considerable merit, and some critics even go so far as to consider him superior in certain points to any of the portrait-painters of his age, save Sir Joshua Reynolds.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE STAMP ACT AND THE TEA TAX.

Dispute between England and the colonies (1)—the Stamp Act (2)—the effect of the Stamp Act in America (3)—repeal of the Stamp Act (4)—Townshend's American policy (5)—proceedings in America (6)—the Boston "massacre" (7)—further disturbances (8)—the Boston Port Act (9)—the congress of 1774 (10)—proceedings in Parliament in 1774 (11).

1. Dispute between England and the Colonies.—How far the English Government could lawfully tax the colonies, was, as we have seen, a point on which there had been various disputes, and about which no fixed rule had been laid

down. English judges had decided that the colonies might lawfully be taxed by Parliament. But the colonists had never formally acknowledged this claim, and Parliament had never attempted to exercise the right except for the protection of English trade and manufactures. During the reigns of George I. and George II., various proposals had been made for a general system of taxation in all the colonies. Sir William Keith, Governor of Pennsylvania, proposed such a scheme to Sir Robert Walpole. The Prime Minister replied :—"I have Old England set against me, and do you think I will have New England likewise?" In 1754, Lord Halifax, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, proposed that a general system of taxation should be put in force, arranged by commissioners from the various colonies. Several of the colonial governors took up the idea, and it seemed likely to be adopted. The Massachusetts Assembly gave its agent in England instructions "to oppose everything that should have the remotest tendency to raise a revenue in the plantations." Other events happened about the same time to breed ill blood between the colonists and the mother country. In 1761 the custom-house officers at Boston demanded help from the colonial police officers in searching for some smuggled goods. This was refused. The right of the custom-house officers to demand such help was then tried before the Supreme Court of Massachusetts. The verdict was in their favour, but public feeling was strongly excited against the Government, and James Otis, the lawyer who opposed the custom-house officers, gained great popularity. In the same year a dispute arose in New York. Hitherto the Chief Justice had been liable to be dismissed by the Assembly. This right of dismissal was now transferred to the Crown. The Assembly tried to meet this by withholding the judge's salary, but the English Government defeated them by granting it out of the quit-rents paid for the public

lands. In 1762 a third dispute sprang up. A ship was sent to guard the fisheries to the north of New England against the French. The Massachusetts Assembly was ordered to pay the cost. They protested against this, and Otis drew up a remonstrance declaring that it would take from the Assembly "their most darling privilege, the right of originating all taxes," and would "annihilate one branch of the legislature."

2. *The Stamp Act.*—All these things had been begetting an unfriendly feeling in the colonists towards the mother country. But in 1761 Parliament adopted measures which excited deeper and more wide-spread discontent. The two most influential ministers in the English Government were George Grenville and Charles Townshend. Grenville was painstaking, honest, and well-meaning, but self-confident, obstinate, and ill-informed about America. Townshend was a brilliant speaker, but rash and headstrong, utterly without forethought or caution, and carried away by the love of new and startling measures. He was at the head of the Board of Trade, which then had a large share in the management of the colonies. In March 1763, Townshend brought forward a complete scheme for remodelling the colonial governments. He proposed to make all the public officers in America dependent on the Crown, to establish a standing army there, and strictly to enforce the navigation laws. The last was the only part of the scheme which was actually put in force. Before the other measures could be carried out, Townshend had left the Board of Trade. His successor, Lord Shelburne, refused to meddle with the taxation of the colonies. But in 1764 he was succeeded by Lord Hillsborough, a man of no great ability or importance. Thus the control of the colonies was practically handed over to Grenville. The only part of Townshend's scheme of which he approved was the enforcement of the navigation laws, and he brought

in a bill for this purpose, which was carried. He also resolved to introduce a bill requiring that all legal documents should bear stamps varying in price from 3*d.* to 10*d.* This measure, known as the Stamp Act, has always been looked on as the beginning of the troubles which led to the War of Independence. Grenville gave notice of this bill a year before he actually introduced it. Several of the colonies at once petitioned and passed resolutions against it. The Virginia Assembly appealed to the King, the Lords, and the Commons, declaring that the taxation of the colonies by Parliament was unconstitutional. New York did likewise. Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and North Carolina appointed committees to correspond with the neighbouring colonies about means of resistance. When the bill was brought before Parliament in 1765, six colonies protested against it. Nevertheless, only a few members of Parliament raised their voices against the measure. The most conspicuous of these were Barré and Conway, both Irishmen, and officers in the army.

3. The effect of the Stamp Act in America.—The arrival of the news in America was at once the signal for an outburst of indignation. The supporters of the measure were burnt in effigy. Hutchinson, the Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts, was especially odious to the people, as the Act was believed to be in a great measure due to his advice. This provoked the colonists the more as he was a Boston man by birth. His house was attacked by night and pillaged, and he and his family had to flee for their lives. This outrage was resented by the better class of Bostonians, and the Assembly offered a reward of 300*l.* for the capture of any of the ringleaders. At the same time the Bostonians showed their gratitude to Conway and Barré by placing pictures of them in their town hall. The first colony which publicly, and through its government, expressed its formal disapproval of the Stamp Act, was Virginia. Among the

members of the Virginia Assembly was a young lawyer named Patrick Henry. He had already made himself conspicuous in a law-suit which had taken place in Virginia. The stipend of the clergy there was paid, not in money, but in tobacco. In 1758 there was a scanty crop of tobacco, and the price of it rose. The Assembly thereupon passed an Act that the stipend of the clergy should be paid in money, at a certain fixed rate, proportioned to the usual value of tobacco, but below its price at that time. The King, persuaded, it is said, by the Bishop of London, refused to confirm this Act. The clergy then sued some persons who had paid them in money for the difference between that and the present value of the tobacco to which they were entitled. Henry, who was engaged as counsel against the clergy, boldly declared that the King's sanction was unnecessary to the validity of a law. He lost his cause, but won a great reputation as the champion of the popular party. This, coupled with his eloquence, in which he stood foremost among the American statesmen of his day, marked him out as the leader of the opposition to the Stamp Act. In May 1765 Henry proposed in the Virginia Assembly a series of five resolutions declaring that the colonies could not be taxed without their own consent. The Assembly, after a severe contest, passed them, and, in the words of Bernard, the Governor of Massachusetts, "rang the alarm bell to the rest of America." A fortnight after, the Massachusetts Assembly took the bold step of proposing to call a congress of deputies from all the colonies, to arrange means of resistance. The project was at first coldly received, and seemed likely to fall to the ground, till North Carolina took it up. In October, deputies from nine colonies, chosen by their representative Assemblies, met at New York. Virginia, New Hampshire, and Georgia were prevented from sending deputies, but expressed their sympathy. The Congress drew up addresses

to the King, the Lords, and the Commons. In these they expressed their loyalty to the King and their affection to England, but declared that it was unlawful to tax the colonies without their own consent. Soon after, the Assembly of Massachusetts passed a series of resolutions setting forth the same principles. The people generally devised various means for evading the Stamp Act. In some places they used bark instead of paper; in others they compelled the distributors of stamps to resign. Elsewhere they persisted so obstinately in the use of unstamped paper, that the colonial governors had to yield. Everything was done to make the colonies independent of English trade. A society of arts, manufactures, and commerce was formed to encourage native industry, and, to increase the supply of wool, no lambs were killed. From the outset of the contest, those in America who opposed the mother country were divided into two parties. There were some who held that the colonists ought not merely to resist the Stamp Act, but to deny the right of the English Parliament to tax them or to make laws for them. There were others who objected to the Stamp Act, on the ground that it was oppressive and ill-timed, but who did not wish to raise any wider question as to the general rights of England over the colonies. This formed an important difference of opinion, which, as the contest went on, grew wider and produced important results.

4. *Repeal of the Stamp Act.*—The petition, and the expression of public opinion in America, was not without effect in England. In the autumn of 1765 Grenville went out of office. The King wished Pitt to form a ministry, and he would have done so, if his brother-in-law, Lord Temple, would have joined him. Pitt was the one leading statesman of that age who thoroughly understood the American colonies, who knew the value of their friendship, and the danger of their enmity. But unhappily, Temple would not

support him, and he was unable to form a ministry. Still the change of government was a gain to the cause of the colonies. Lord Rockingham was the new Prime Minister. He was a moderate and sensible man, conciliatory in his views towards the colonies, but unhappily without the courage needful to carry out an unpopular policy. The real strength of his ministry lay in Conway and Edmund Burke. The former was among the few who had opposed the Stamp Act. The latter was as yet untried as a practical statesman, but he was specially fitted to deal with the question of colonial taxation. He was an Irishman, and so had a peculiar sympathy with a dependent nation. An account of the European colonies in America, the best work of the kind then in existence, was generally, and it would seem justly, believed to have been written by him. Few men had more knowledge of the history and institutions of his country, or could judge better how far the claims of the Americans were well-founded. Pitt too, though he would not join the ministry, gave it his support, as he described himself, "single, unsolicited, and unconnected." In one of his most eloquent speeches, he warned Parliament that in carrying out the taxation of the colonies, they would overthrow the principles on which the freedom of their own country rested. "America," he said, "if she fell, would fall like the strong man; she would embrace the pillar of the state, and pull down the constitution along with her." The ministry found help in another quarter. Benjamin Franklin was then in England, on business as the agent of Pennsylvania. He was examined before the House of Commons as to the probable effect of the Stamp Act. He stated forcibly the objections to taxing the colonies. He pointed out that England would be, in the long run, the loser, as the Americans would in revenge manufacture articles for themselves, instead of depending, as they always had done, on those sent out from England. In July, Conway

moved the repeal of the Stamp Act, and it was carried by a majority of more than a hundred. The ministry marred the concession by bringing in a bill declaring that Parliament had a right to tax the colonies. This was opposed by Pitt in the Commons, and by Lord Camden in the Lords; nevertheless it passed both Houses. The colonists were for the time too much delighted at the repeal of the Stamp Act to trouble themselves much about a measure which carried with it no immediate mischief. They received the news with great public rejoicings. Special honours were paid in various colonies to the King, Pitt, Conway, and Barré. But though the difficulty had been surmounted for the time, much mischief had been done. Violent language had been used on each side. Even the opponents of the Stamp Act in England regretted much what was said by the colonists, and complained that temperate remonstrances could find neither a publisher nor a reader in America. In England, on the other hand, few took the trouble to acquaint themselves with the true state of the colonies, and thus the nation was, to a great extent, acting in the dark. One London newspaper, if we may believe Franklin, tried to frighten its readers about the increasing resources of the Americans, by telling them of a project for establishing whale fisheries in the upper Canadian lakes. Franklin, in ridicule of this, told his English readers that there could not be a finer sight than the whales leaping up the falls of Niagara.

5. *Townshend's American Policy.* — In the following August Rockingham went out of office. He was succeeded by Pitt, now raised to the peerage as Earl of Chatham. He was at the head of an ill-assorted ministry, made up of men of different parties and conflicting views. Townshend was his Chancellor of the Exchequer. Failing health drove Chatham into retirement, and Townshend was left to carry out his own policy unchecked. He had been, as much as Grenville, the

author of the Stamp Act, and he now proceeded to carry out the same policy. He brought forward and carried through a Bill imposing duties on various commodities imported to America. The revenue thus raised was to be placed at the King's disposal, and the civil officers in America were to be paid out of it. This, as we have seen, was a scheme which the colonists had always stoutly resisted. At the same time an Act was passed to punish the Assembly of New York for its disobedience to the English Government. It had refused to supply the King's troops with necessaries. Accordingly, Parliament enacted that the Governor of New York should not give his assent to any measure passed by the Assembly till it had obeyed the law on this point. This Act had the intended effect, as the New York Assembly gave way.

6. Proceedings in America.—When the news of these Acts came out to America, the spirit of resistance was kindled afresh. Massachusetts again was one of the first colonies to act. The Assembly drew up a remonstrance, and sent it to the ministry. It rested mainly on the ground that the colonies could not be taxed without their own consent. The Assembly then sent letters to all the other colonies, telling them what it had done. Before long Massachusetts found itself in open opposition to the English Government. The anniversary of the repeal of the Stamp Act was kept at Boston as a public holiday. Some disorder, not apparently serious, followed; and Governor Bernard made this the ground for demanding troops from England. Accordingly a regiment was sent out to be quartered in the town, and a frigate and four small vessels were ordered to lie in the harbour. About the same time the Custom-house officers seized a sloop called the *Liberty*, belonging to one of the leading citizens of Boston, on the charge of smuggling, and called on the crew of a man-of-war to help them. The Bostonians resisted, and the Commissioners of Customs had to take refuge in the

castle. During the excitement and ill-feeling which followed these proceedings, letters were sent out from Lord Hillsborough, the Secretary of State, bidding Bernard to dissolve the Assembly, unless it would withdraw its circular letters to the other colonies. This it refused to do, by a majority of ninety-two votes to seventeen, whereupon Bernard dissolved it. Although not allowed to sit as an Assembly, the members came together as a convention without any legal power, and requested the Governor to call an Assembly. He refused, and ordered them to disperse. Instead of obeying him they drew up a fresh petition to the King, remonstrating against being taxed by Parliament, and against the civil officers being made independent of the Assembly. The Council in the meantime had been also opposing the Governor. Two regiments were to be sent to Boston from Halifax, and Bernard gave orders that the Council should provide quarters for them in the town. The Council declared that it was not intended by the Act of Parliament that the troops should be quartered in private houses while there was room in barracks. After a dispute, Bernard and General Gage, who was in command of the troops, gave way. The citizens of Boston also agreed to abstain, as far as possible, from the use of imported articles, by way of striking a blow at English commerce. In this they were followed by the southern colonies. In all these proceedings, except perhaps the affair of the *Liberty*, the people of Boston seem to have acted with judgment and moderation. Another of their proceedings was less justifiable. Otis and others collected four hundred muskets, which they stowed in the town hall, giving notice that they would be served out to the citizens if they were needed.

7. The Boston "Massacre."—The English Government now seemed inclined towards a moderate policy. The ministry with one accord proposed the repeal of all the

duties except that on tea ; on that they were divided. Just as Rockingham's ministry, when it repealed the Stamp Act, still expressly reserved the right of taxing the colonies, so now the ministry retained the tea tax, not for its own sake, but lest, by repealing it, they should seem to give up their claim altogether. Thus the intended concession failed to conciliate the colonists. When the repeal of the duties was announced at Boston, the merchants of the town held a meeting, and resolved that the concession was insufficient. Boston soon became the scene of fresh and worse disturbances. The departure of Governor Bernard was celebrated by public rejoicings, by bonfires, ringing of bells, and firing of cannon. An unfriendly feeling between the soldiers and the Bostonians soon showed itself in various ways. Early in March disturbances broke out, and the soldiers and citizens came to blows. On the 5th of March a number of soldiers were surrounded by a mob, who hooted and pelted them. It is said that the soldiers had already provoked the mob by rushing through the streets, laying about them with sticks and cutlasses. At length the troops were provoked into firing upon the people, of whom they killed three and wounded eight, two mortally. Next morning a town meeting was held, and delegates were sent to Hutchinson, the Lieutenant-Governor, who after Bernard's departure was at the head of affairs, to demand the withdrawal of all the troops. He ordered one of the two regiments, that specially concerned in the disturbance, to withdraw to the castle ; but he kept the other in the town. The townsmen however insisted on the withdrawal of all the troops, and Hutchinson at length yielded. It is not easy to say how far the blame of this event—the Boston massacre, as it was called—lay with the mob, and how far with the soldiers. It is impossible altogether to acquit either. But it must be said in justice that the better class of the townspeople showed no wish to deal harshly

with the case. When Captain Preston, the officer in command, and eight of his men, were brought to trial, John Adams and Josiah Quincy, two young barristers of considerable repute, both of whom sympathized strongly with the popular side, undertook the defence. It seemed quite doubtful whether Preston had really given the order to fire, and how far the soldiers had acted in self-defence. Accordingly Preston and six of the soldiers were acquitted; the other two were convicted of manslaughter.

8. Further Disturbances.—Other events at Boston followed on the massacre, which kept up the ill-feeling between the townspeople and the authorities. The King sent out orders to exempt the Commissioners of Customs from taxation. The Assembly contended that the King had no right to meddle with the question of taxation, or to remit, any more than to impose, taxes. Soon after this it was announced that all the law officers were to receive salaries from the Crown, and to be independent of the Assembly. The citizens thereupon, at a public meeting, appointed a committee to draw up a statement of their grievances, and to publish it in the various colonies. In the next year (1773) Franklin sent out from England a number of letters written by Hutchinson to various public men in England, proposing measures against the liberties of the colonies. These letters called forth great indignation, and the Assembly, on the strength of them, petitioned for Hutchinson's removal. On one point the colonists seemed inclined to give way. They had entered into an agreement to injure English commerce by importing no goods from England. The wisdom of this policy seems doubtful. It forced the Americans to manufacture many articles which they might have imported more easily and cheaply; and, when the war actually broke out, they were worse supplied than they need have been. In any case the agreement could have no effect, unless it were observed by

all the colonies alike. For a while the colonists remained firm, but gradually they gave way. The only commodity which was altogether excluded was tea. In September another disturbance took place at Boston. Three ships containing tea arrived in the harbour. As this was the one commodity still taxed, those who were opposed to Government were specially anxious that none should be landed. Accordingly a number of them, disguised as Indians, seized the ships, and emptied the cargo—three hundred and forty chests of tea—into the harbour. The like was done in South Carolina, and in New York the tea-ships had to be guarded by a man-of-war.

9. *The Boston Port Act.*—Next year the English Government took steps to punish the Bostonians for their various misdeeds. The port was to be closed so as to cut off supplies ; the Assembly was suspended ; public officers or soldiers accused of any offence were to be sent to England or Nova Scotia for trial, and all troops were to be quartered on the town of Boston. At the same time General Gage, the commander of the troops, was appointed Governor. One wise measure was adopted by the ministry. The French Canadians, most of whom were Roman Catholics, were granted full freedom of worship. They were also allowed to take an oath of fidelity to the King, instead of the oath of supremacy, and to hold their property under their own laws. This wise and moderate policy was rewarded by the loyalty of the Canadians. The Acts against Boston were opposed by Burke and others, but in vain. In June 1774 the last Assembly under the royal government was held in Massachusetts. It passed resolutions recommending a congress of the different colonies, appointed five deputies, and voted them 500*l.* for their expenses. The Governor refused to sanction this vote. The Assembly then passed resolutions declaring its disapproval of the arbitrary conduct of the

Governor, and recommending the inhabitants to leave off using imported articles, and to encourage home manufactures. Thereupon the Governor dissolved them. The other colonies showed every disposition to support Massachusetts. The Assembly of Virginia set apart the 1st of June for a public fast, as on that day the Port Act came into force. For this they were dissolved by the Governor, but nevertheless most of the other colonies followed their example. Virginia and Maryland both resolved to export no tobacco to England; and South Carolina and Virginia gave rice and corn for the relief of Boston. In Massachusetts the spirit of disaffection increased. In some of the towns the people were ready to take up arms. In two of them, mobs took possession of the law courts, and would not suffer proceedings to go forward. When Gage took possession of the public store of powder, and moved it to the castle, the whole neighbourhood rose up; and in a day twenty thousand people were gathered together. They dispersed however without doing anything.

10. The Congress of 1774.—In September the Congress met at Philadelphia. The Massachusetts deputies were received on their way with public honours. The Congress passed various resolutions expressing its sympathy with Boston, and denying the right of Parliament to tax the colonies. It also drew up an agreement pledging the colonies to have no commercial dealings with England. At the same time it sent a petition to the King and a memorial to the people of Great Britain, resembling the other documents of the kind which had been issued before. The Congress also published an address to the people of Quebec, representing that the Act of Parliament made them dependent for their freedom on the pleasure of England, and exhorting them to make common cause with the other colonists.

11. Proceedings in Parliament in 1774.—On the 1st of November, 1774, a new Parliament met. The proceedings in

its first session, with reference to America, were the most important that had yet taken place. Lord North, who was now at the head of the Ministry, being only a peer's eldest son, sat in the House of Commons. He was little more than the mouthpiece of the King, who was bitterly hostile to the colonies. Throughout the whole session a small minority, containing some of the ablest men and best debaters in both Houses, fought against the American policy of the Government. The contest began when the Address to the King was moved in the House of Commons. An amendment was proposed, requesting that the King should lay all the facts about America before Parliament. In the ensuing debate, the ministry was severely blamed for its American policy, but the amendment was defeated by a majority of more than two hundred. In the House of Lords a like debate was followed by a like result. On the 3rd of February, Lord North announced his American policy: the English forces in America were to be increased, the colonists were to be cut off from the American fisheries, and the colonies were to be punished with a different amount of severity, according to their various degrees of guilt. Those measures were brought forward separately, and, though each of them successively was opposed, all were carried. At the same time, Lord North introduced a measure intended to conciliate the colonies, and to meet the difficulty about taxation. He proposed that the colonial assemblies should be allowed to vote a certain sum, and that, if the English Government thought it enough, the colonists should be left to raise the money in what way they pleased. This was a concession, but only a slight one, not likely to have much effect on the colonists in their present state of anger. During the same session, Chatham and Burke each brought forward schemes for conciliation. Chatham proposed that a congress from all the colonies should meet, and should make a free grant of a perpetual

revenue to the King, to be spent, not on the payment of civil officers in America, but in reducing the national debt ; that the recent Acts against America should be suspended without being formally repealed, and that all the privileges granted by the colonial charters and constitution should be confirmed. This scheme seemed to meet the chief demands of the colonists, and at the same time to save the ministry from an open confession of defeat. In spite of this, and of the high position and past services of Chatham, the House of Lords not only threw out the measure, but would not even suffer a copy of the scheme to lie on the table of the House for consideration. Not long after, Burke brought forward a motion in the House of Commons, proposing to repeal the Acts against America, and to leave the taxation of the colonies to their own Assemblies. He spoke strongly of the loyalty of the colonists, and showed that, in claiming the right of taxing themselves, they were only holding fast to principles which Englishmen had always asserted. Nevertheless, his motion was defeated by a large majority. On the 10th of April a petition was presented to the King from the city of London, representing the injury to trade and to the welfare of the kingdom which was likely to follow from the present policy towards America. The King, in answer, only expressed his surprise that any of his subjects should encourage the rebellious temper of the Americans. During the whole period which we have gone through in this chapter, ministers and Parliament were misled chiefly by their ignorance of the wants and feelings of the colonists. This was mainly due to their being dependent for information on colonial governors and other men of indifferent character and prejudiced against the Americans. Moreover, there was on the part of the King and his advisers a firm determination to hear no appeal from the colonists, however temperately worded, unless it acknowledged the right of Parliament to

tax them. On that one point the colonists were equally firm. At the outset they might perhaps not have quarrelled with the mere claim to that right, if it had not been harshly and unwisely exercised. But as the struggle went on, they became hardened in their resistance, and claimed freedom, not merely from a particular tax, but from taxation generally.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

Proceedings in America in 1775 (1)—resources of the colonists (2)—outbreak of the war (3)—the Congress of 1775 (4)—Bunker's Hill (5)—further proceedings of Congress (6)—attack on Canada (7)—war in Virginia (8)—Parliament in the autumn of 1775 (9)—the British forces leave Boston (10)—war in North Carolina (11)—formation of Independent State Governments (12)—the Declaration of Independence (13).

1. *Proceedings in America in 1775.*—In the spring of 1775, the state of things at Boston became more threatening. There was no longer an Assembly, but the Convention of the colony was mustering the militia, providing for the safe keeping of the military stores, and making other preparations for active resistance. In February, Gage, hearing that there were some cannon at Salem, sent to seize them. When the soldiers came to a river, their passage was barred by the country people, who took up the drawbridge and scuttled the only boat at hand, while the cannon were carried off. A fight seemed impending, but a clergyman interposed, and persuaded the people to lower the drawbridge. The troops marched over unmolested, but failed to find the cannon. In Boston the ill-feeling between the people and the soldiers showed itself in various ways. In Virginia the colonists

were also making ready for action. There too a convention was called together. Henry, in an eloquent speech, warned the colonists that all hope of reconciliation was at an end, and that they must choose between war and slavery. They answered to his appeal, and proceeded to put the militia in order for service. Lord Dunmore, the Governor, thereupon seized the public supply of powder. He also enraged the settlers by threatening that, if any violence were done, he would free and arm the negro slaves, and burn Williamsburg.

2. *Resources of the Colonists.*—Before going further, it may be well to consider what resources the Americans had for the war on which they were about to enter. Their two chief sources of weakness were want of union among the colonies, and want of military organization and discipline. As we shall see throughout the contest, the shortcomings of the Americans on these points were constantly creating difficulties. Besides, there was a want of concert among the leading men. Some of them had already given up all hopes of reconciliation, and were resolved to aim at once at independence, while others, to the last, clung to the hope of maintaining the union with England. Moreover, the Congress of delegates had no legal powers. It could only pass resolutions; it could not enforce its decisions. As a set-off against these drawbacks, there was much in the life and habits of the people which fitted them for such a war. It was not necessary that the colonists should win pitched battles. It was enough if they could harass the English troops, and cut off their supplies. For this sort of work the difference between well-disciplined soldiers and raw militia is less important than it would be in regular warfare. Many of the Americans too had experience in backwoods fighting with the Indians. Moreover the life of settlers in a new country calls out activity and readiness. A settler is not

only a farmer, but a hunter, and to some extent a craftsman as well. Moreover, America was not like an old country, where the loss of a few large trading and manufacturing towns cripples the whole nation. There were also several weak points in the position of England. The nation did not go into the war heartily and with one accord. Many of the wisest statesmen and greatest thinkers were utterly opposed to the policy of the Ministry. The merchants, the Dissenters, and the Irish people, for the most part sympathized with the Americans. All these things made the case of the colonists more hopeful than it might have seemed at first sight.

3. *Outbreak of the War.*—In April 1775 the long threatened contest began. Gage heard that the colonists had cannon and other stores at Concord, an inland town about half a day's march from Boston. He accordingly sent a force of eight hundred men to seize them. At Lexington, a town on the road, the troops met a small body of militia drawn up. One of the British officers ordered them to disperse. They refused, and the regulars fired, killing eight and wounding seven of the militia. The troops then continued their march to Concord. Outside the place they were opposed by a force of about four hundred men. The regulars got possession of the town and attempted to prevent the colonial militia from entering. Both sides then opened fire; after a while the regulars retreated and marched back to Boston. They were harassed on the way by their opponents, who, as the news spread, received constant reinforcements. But for the arrival of a fresh force from Boston, it would probably have gone hard with the regular troops. As it was, they are said to have lost nearly three hundred men before they reached Boston. The Massachusetts Congress at once raised an army. Recruits flocked in from all quarters, and the British troops who were in possession of Boston were

blockaded by sea and land. The inhabitants were at length allowed to leave the place on condition that they surrendered their arms. Many of them, it is said, suffered considerable hardships in their departure. Soon after, a force of a hundred and fifty New Englanders, under the command of one Ethan Allen, marched against Ticonderoga, a post of great importance on the Canadian frontier. The garrison was utterly unprepared, and the place was surprised and taken without difficulty. Crown Point, another strong place, was soon afterwards seized in like manner. There were other petty hostilities, in which the Americans had the best of it.

4. The Congress of 1775.—In May the Congress met at Philadelphia. Each of the thirteen colonies sent delegates, chosen by the people in general conventions. Strange as it may seem even after what had happened, the Americans did not give up all hope of reconciliation. They apparently thought that the policy of the ministry did not represent the feelings of the British people. Accordingly Congress appointed committees to draw up a petition to the king, and an address to the inhabitants of Great Britain. At the same time it made preparations for defence. It resolved that no bills should be cashed for British officers, and no provisions supplied to British troops or ships. The army already raised by Massachusetts was adopted as the continental army. Companies of riflemen were to be raised in Virginia, Pennsylvania and Maryland. Money was coined, and a loan raised, in the name of the united colonies. The Congress also advised the different colonies to call out their militia. The most important step of all, was the appointment of a commander-in-chief. Ward, the commander of the Massachusetts forces, was old, and had no military experience and no special capacity of any kind. Washington's ability, his high character and his past services, pointed him out as the one man fitted above all others for the post.

This appointment was proposed by John Adams, a leading man in Massachusetts, and was cordially accepted by the whole Congress. The existence of such a leader at such a time was the greatest good fortune that could have befallen the Americans. Had his ability and integrity been less conspicuous, or had he been open to the least suspicion of ambition or self-seeking, the northern colonies might not have endured the appointment of a southern general. As it was, that appointment served to bind together the two great divisions, and enable each to feel that it bore an equal part in the struggle.

5. **Bunker's Hill.**—Before Washington could take command of the forces, the first pitched battle had been fought. On the 15th of June, Gage, who had been strengthened by the arrival of fresh troops, took steps towards occupying Bunker's Hill. This is a piece of high ground commanding Boston, at the end of the peninsula on which Charlestown stands. The Americans determined to anticipate Gage, and occupied the place with a thousand men. The British troops then marched upon the place to dislodge them. The ascent was steep, and the difficulty was made greater by the heat of the day and the length of the grass. With these advantages the Americans twice beat back their assailants, but at the third charge their stock of powder ran short, and as they had no bayonets, they were forced to retreat. The British were too much exhausted to press them severely. The loss of the Americans was about two hundred killed, and three hundred wounded. The British lost two hundred and twenty killed and over eight hundred wounded. Gage wrote home, that the rebels were not so despicable as many had thought them, and that their conquest would be no easy task.

6. **Further Proceedings of Congress.**—It might have been thought that Congress would now give up all hopes of reconciliation, and would have seen that nothing was left

but either resistance or complete submission. This was the view of many of the ablest members of Congress. They held that, until the colonies definitely threw off the yoke of the mother-country, there could be no unity or firmness in their proceedings. But the majority still looked forward to the possibility of reconciliation. The leader of this latter party was James Dickinson, of Pennsylvania. He drew up a petition to the king, which was adopted by the Congress loyal and moderate in its tone. The views of the extreme men on either side were well set forth in two speeches, made by Dickinson and one of his chief opponents, Benjamin Harrison, of Virginia. Dickinson, in speaking of his own address, said, "There is but one word in it that I disapprove of, and that is, Congress." "There is but one word in it that I approve of," said Harrison, "and that is Congress." The Americans however no longer addressed themselves to Parliament. The Congress forwarded an address to the inhabitants of Great Britain, setting forth the hopelessness of the attempts to subdue the colonies, and one to the Lord Mayor and City of London, thanking them for their advocacy.

7. *Attack on Canada.*—Congress now ventured on a bolder step than any that it had yet taken. It resolved to send an invading force against Canada. To do this was in a great measure to quit the purely defensive position which it had hitherto held. The Americans however believed that Carleton, the governor of Canada, was about to invade their territory, and so considered that, by marching against Canada, they were only anticipating an attack. Three thousand men were sent out commanded by Richard Montgomery. He was an Irishman, who had served with distinction in the late Canadian war. Thinking that he had been insufficiently rewarded, he had retired to a farm in New York, and had married into the family of the Livingstones, important

merchants in that colony and conspicuous as opponents of the English Government. At first Montgomery's efforts were successful; and St. John's and Montreal both surrendered. The only check sustained by the Americans was the defeat and capture of Ethan Allen, who had headed an expedition against Montreal, as reckless but not as successful as his earlier attempt against Ticonderoga. Quebec was now threatened by two forces, one under Montgomery, the other under Benedict Arnold, who had started from the mouth of the Kennebec with eleven hundred men. In December their forces united before Quebec, and on the 16th they assaulted the town. The assailants were defeated, with a loss of sixty men killed and nearly four hundred taken prisoners. Among those slain was Montgomery. No braver or more high-minded man fell in the whole war. In Parliament the friends of America lamented his death and praised his memory, and even Lord North generously admitted that he was brave, able, and humane, and that he had undone his country by his virtues. Arnold continued to blockade Quebec for three months. Small-pox broke out in his camp and the discipline of his troops failed. From the position of the place it was impossible for the besiegers to keep out supplies and fresh troops from England. When the garrison, strengthened by reinforcements, made a sally, the Americans retreated. Carleton, with great humanity, issued a proclamation, ordering that the sick and wounded, many of whom were scattered in the woods, should be sought out and relieved at the public expense, and, when well, should be suffered to depart home. He also checked the Canadian Indians from making inroads on the New England frontier.

8. War in Virginia.—In Virginia war had broken out between Lord Dunmore and the Assembly. Dunmore seized the powder belonging to the colony, and then, fearing the people, established himself on board a man-of-war. The

Assembly would not carry on business unless he would land. He refused, and at length the Assembly dissolved. As in Massachusetts, its place was supplied by a Convention, which proceeded to levy taxes and to put the colony in a state of defence. Dunmore then collected a fleet, and petty hostilities broke out between him and the people. In November he issued a proclamation, declaring martial law, and requiring that all persons fit to bear arms should join him, on pain of being treated as traitors. At the same time he promised their freedom to all negroes who joined him. By this means he raised a force of several hundred men. On the 9th of December the first serious engagement took place. The colonial troops were entrenched in a position defended by a narrow causeway. Captain Fordyce, with sixty grenadiers, attempted to dislodge them. He was met by a heavy fire. Fordyce fell, and his troops after a brave resistance were beaten back, having lost about half their number. Dunmore's party took to their ships and were soon joined by two vessels from England. These brought three thousand muskets, with which Dunmore was to arm the negroes and Indians. A flag of truce was sent on shore to the town of Norfolk, to demand provisions, which were refused. Dunmore then resolved to bombard the town. On New Year's Day, 1776, a cannonade was opened. Parties of sailors landed under cover of the ships' guns and set fire to the town, and by the evening, Norfolk, the richest city in Virginia, was a heap of ashes.

9. *Parliament in the Autumn of 1775.*—During the session of 1775, various attempts were made by the friends of America in both Houses of Parliament to change the policy of the ministry, but in vain. Partly through mismanagement, partly through ill-fortune, the supplies sent out to the British forces had miscarried, and great waste had ensued. The expenses of the war brought with them an increase of taxation.

Nevertheless, the ministry and the majority of Parliament held firmly to their previous policy. The King's Speech at the beginning of the session denounced, in strong language, "the desperate conspiracy" in North America. The petition of Congress was presented by Penn, the proprietor of Pennsylvania, but Parliament decided not to consider it. Penn himself was examined before the House of Lords. His evidence went to show that the colonists were both willing and able to hold out, and that they were well supplied with men and arms. The Duke of Bedford in the Upper House, and Burke in the Lower, brought forward proposals for conciliation, but were defeated by large majorities. Lord Mansfield, who supported the ministry, plainly and courageously told the House of Lords, that England must either conquer by force or give way altogether. He illustrated his view by the story of a Scotch officer in the Thirty Years' War, who, pointing to the enemy, said to his men, "See you those lads? kill them, or they will kill you." The results of the session showed that the Government would be content with nothing less than the total submission of the colonists. The changes in the ministry about this time made the prospects of America look even darker than before. The Duke of Grafton, an honest and sensible man, who had been at first in favour of the ministerial policy, but was afterwards convinced of its folly, left office. Lord Dartmouth, also a friend to the Americans, was succeeded as Secretary to the Colonies by Lord George Germaine, an able man, but of harsh and violent temper. A still greater loss to the cause of America was the retirement of Chatham, who was withheld by illness from taking any part in public affairs. Yet he showed what he thought of the ministerial policy, by ordering his son, who was aide-de-camp to General Carleton, to throw up his appointment, rather than serve against the Americans. One proceeding on the part of the English government, which

especially enraged the colonists, was the hiring of a number of German troops to serve in America.

10. *The British Forces leave Boston.*—The position of Washington after he was placed in command was one of great difficulty. His troops were undisciplined; there was great rivalry between the men of different colonies, and the supply of powder was quite insufficient. There was scarcely enough for the infantry, and the artillery was practically rendered useless. The Americans suffered too from the hindrance which always besets an army made up, not of regular soldiers, but of citizens. They were unwilling to stay long away from their homes and business. They would only enlist for short periods, and thus the army was for the most part made up of raw recruits. In numbers, the Americans had the best of it, being about sixteen thousand to twelve thousand of the enemy. But this advantage was in some degree lessened by the fact that the Americans had to guard a wide frontier, while the British had only to hold a single point. The chief superiority which the Americans possessed was their better supply of food and clothing. The British stores had been shipwrecked on their way out, and the famine in the West Indies cut off an important source of help. In spite of all the difficulties which surrounded him, the Americans grumbled at Washington for not striking some decisive blow, and in December, 1775, Congress sent him a resolution, authorizing him “to attack Boston in any manner that he might deem expedient.” On the 4th of March he resolved to make an attempt. After nightfall a heavy cannonade began from the American lines, and was kept up on both sides till morning. In the meantime Washington sent a force to occupy Dorchester heights, ground which commanded Boston harbour. The Americans, as might have been expected from an army of countrymen and farmers, were skilful at throwing up earthworks, and by daybreak they

were safely entrenched. The British prepared to dislodge them, but were prevented by a storm ; and before they could renew the attempt, the earthworks had been so strengthened that an attack was hopeless. It was impossible to hold the town while the Americans were in possession of this point. Accordingly on the 16th of March the troops embarked, and Washington entered Boston.

11. War in North Carolina.—In March, hostilities broke out in North Carolina. The assembly accused Martin, the Governor, of exciting an insurrection among the negroes, declared him a public enemy, and forbade anyone to communicate with him. He thereupon raised the royal standard and collected a force, consisting mainly of emigrants from the Scotch highlands. An engagement followed, in which the governor's forces were defeated, with the loss of many prisoners and much property, including, it is said, fifteen thousand pounds in gold. This success was of great importance to the colonists. By it North Carolina, which had been looked upon as one of the weakest of the colonies, had shown that it could defend itself.

12. Formation of Independent State Governments.—In the summer of 1776 Congress took the important step of declaring the colonies independent states. The feeling in favour of this measure had been gradually gaining strength. Many thought that the failure of the Canada expedition was partly due to the nation not having thrown itself zealously and heartily into the war, and that they would not do this, until independence had been declared. The colony which led the way in this direction was New Hampshire. In October, 1775, that colony, through its delegates, petitioned Congress to be allowed to set up a government of its own framing. Congress however did not answer this request at once, hoping that reconciliation might still be possible. But the king's speech in the autumn of 1775, and the rejection of

the petition presented by Penn, convinced the Americans that there was no hope of the king or the ministry yielding. Accordingly Congress assented to the proposal of New Hampshire, and at the same time advised South Carolina and Virginia to form independent governments. New Hampshire, while it formed a government for itself, yet declared its allegiance to Great Britain. Virginia showed a more defiant spirit. In January the convention of that colony passed a motion, instructing its delegates to recommend Congress to open the ports of America to all nations, and thus to cast off the commercial supremacy of England. In March, South Carolina declared itself an independent state, and in May Rhode Island and Virginia followed the example. The latter state elected Patrick Henry as its governor.

13. *The Declaration of Independence.*—Those who supported a thoroughgoing policy of resistance felt that it would not be enough for the states separately to declare themselves independent. The whole body of colonies must unite for that purpose. As Franklin said, "We must all hang together unless we would all hang separately." In the spring of 1776 a scheme for confederation, drawn up by Franklin, was laid before Congress, but Dickinson, Franklin's colleague, opposed it strongly, and it was thrown out. Nevertheless Congress about this time took steps which showed that it no longer acknowledged the authority of Great Britain. A private agent was sent to France, and the people of Canada were advised to set up a government for themselves. After long deliberation, the American ports were thrown open to the world, whereby the English navigation laws were set at nought. Early in June, Lee, of Virginia, proposed that Congress should declare the colonies independent. He was seconded by John Adams. Adams, like Franklin, had clung to the hope of reconciliation as long as there seemed any reasonable prospect of it ; but when once he was convinced

that it was impossible, he never wavered or looked behind him. A committee of five, including Adams and Franklin, was appointed to draft a Declaration. The substance was mainly supplied by Adams, but the form of words was due to Thomas Jefferson. He was a young Virginian, already known as a brilliant writer and a strong opponent to the authority of Great Britain. He was extreme in his views, and often hot-headed and intemperate in his expression of them. The Declaration of Independence, as it originally came from his pen, contained many expressions, which were afterwards softened down by his colleagues. On the 1st of July the general question, whether the colonies should be independent, was laid before Congress. Each colony had a single vote, decided by the majority of the delegates from that colony. Nine of the thirteen colonies were in favour of independence. The delegates from Pennsylvania and its neighbour, Delaware, were equally divided, and so stood neutral. The South Carolina vote alone was against the motion. The New York delegates were in favour of it, but could not vote, as they had not yet been formally elected. On the first day of the discussion Dickinson vigorously opposed the motion, but next day he stayed away, and thus the vote of Pennsylvania was altered. The arrival of another delegate changed the vote of Delaware, and South Carolina, rather than stand alone, withdrew its opposition. New York alone was unable to vote, and on the 2nd of July, by the decision of twelve colonies, it was resolved "That these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states, that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connexion between them and the state of Great Britain is and ought to be totally dissolved." On the 4th of July, the Declaration of Independence was laid before Congress, and was formally adopted. It set forth the grounds on which the revolt of the colonists was held

justifiable; it brought eighteen charges against the king, and alleged that he had shown himself "unfit to be the ruler of a free people." Finally, it declared that the united colonies were free and independent states, that the connexion with Great Britain was and ought to be at an end, and that the colonies had full power to levy war, make peace, contract alliances, and act in all things as free and independent states.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE.

The Articles of Confederation (1)—other proceedings in America (2)—the Tories (3)—attack on South Carolina (4)—Lord Howe sent out (5)—the British take New York (6)—operations in New Jersey (7)—battles of the Brandywine and Germantown (8)—Washington's difficulties (9)—the Convention of Saratoga (10)—the Convention troops (11)—alliance with France (12)—affairs in England (13)—campaign of 1778 (14)—British successes in the South (15)—Arnold's treason (16)—mutiny of the American troops (17)—surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown (18)—the American navy (19)—conclusion of Peace (20).

I. **The Articles of Confederation.**—The Declaration of Independence left the thirteen colonies, according to their own claim, free and independent states. But it did not give Congress any legal authority over the citizens, or establish any central power over the whole body of states. It was clear that, without some such power, the war could not be carried on with any hope of success. Immediately after the Declaration of Independence, a committee was appointed to draw up Articles of Confederation; these however were not agreed on by the Congress till the following year, and they were not adopted by the whole body of states till 1781.

During the whole of that time all power lay with the independent State Governments. Congress, as before the Declaration of Independence, could only advise and could not enforce its wishes. There were two main difficulties which Congress encountered in settling a scheme of confederation. The committee who drew up the articles proposed that each colony should contribute to the general treasury in proportion to its population. Most of the delegates from the Southern States contended that the contribution should be proportioned to the free population only. To count the slaves, they said, was as unfair as to count cattle. To this the Northerners answered that, by not counting the slaves, they would give slave labour an immense advantage over free. Free labour, in fact, would be taxed, while slave labour was left untaxed. This they said would be at once unfair to the North, and would have the evil effect of fostering slavery. In the end the original proposal was carried by the votes of the seven northernmost states. The dispute is interesting, as being perhaps the first symptom of a long and bitter conflict between the Northern and Southern States, springing out of the question of slavery. Another dispute arose as to the number of votes to be given to each state. The committee proposed that each state should send what number of delegates it pleased, from two to seven, but that, as hitherto, they should only have one vote between them. Others held that the states ought to have votes in proportion to their population. Otherwise, as they pointed out, if the seven smallest states carried a question, it would practically come to this, that a large majority of the nation would be ruled by a small minority. On the other hand, there was a strong feeling that a different arrangement would press hardly on the rights of the smaller states. This view prevailed, and the states retained equal votes. The Articles of Confederation

were finally decided on in October 1777. They declared the thirteen states to be a confederacy called the United States of America. A citizen of any one state was to have full rights of citizenship in all the others. No state was to form any independent alliance or treaty, or to make war, except in case of invasion. Various causes, as we shall hereafter see, delayed the acceptance of these articles by the different states.

2. *Other Proceedings in America.*—At the same time that the committee was drawing up these articles, the various states were forming their independent governments. All these, with two exceptions, were modelled on the old colonial governments, and consisted of a Governor, a Council, and a House of Representatives. Pennsylvania and Georgia had only a House of Representatives, thinking a Council unnecessary, but this change was found to work badly, and after a while they adopted a like system with the rest. Congress during the summer of 1776 sent three Commissioners to France, to make secret negotiations for an alliance. Franklin opposed this, saying that “a virgin state should preserve the virgin character, and not go about suitoring for alliances, but wait with decent dignity for the application of others.” He was however overruled, and he was himself appointed one of the Commissioners.

3. *The Tories.*—It must not be thought that the American people had gone into the contest with one accord. There was a party, not indeed numerous, but containing several men of influence, called by the Americans Tories, and by the British Loyalists, who held fast to England. The middle colonies, New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, were the quarter in which this party mustered strongest. The Americans seem to have regarded the Tories with even greater hatred than they did their British enemies, and to have treated them in many cases with great harshness.

Even Washington, usually the most just and moderate of men, was betrayed into using language brutally unfeeling in speaking of their sufferings. But it must in fairness be said that he spoke with great severity of unlawful outrages committed by his own soldiers on the property of alleged Tories, and that he never seems to have given any sanction to their ill-treatment. Though the Tories in the early part of the war caused a great deal of uneasiness to the Americans, they seem on the whole to have been of very little service to the British. Indeed, as we shall find throughout the whole war, the worst enemy with which the British had to deal was, not the armies of the Americans, but the enmity of the common people.

4. *Attack on South Carolina.*—In May, 1776, a British squadron of ten ships under Sir Peter Parker arrived on the coast of South Carolina, and were joined by a land force under General Clinton. The point arrived at was Sullivan's Island, about six miles from Charlestown, and commanding that place. This island was fortified by the Americans. On the 28th of June, the fleet opened a cannonade against the island, and the firing was kept up all day. It was intended that Clinton's forces should wade across an arm of the river and attack the island. The water however was too deep to be forded, and this plan was given up. Before night the fleet withdrew with a loss of some two thousand killed and wounded. The Americans stated their own loss at less than one-fifth of that number. The victory was of great importance, as for the present it saved Charlestown, practically the capital of the three southernmost colonies.

5. *Lord Howe sent out.*—In the summer of 1776 Lord Howe was sent out to take command of the British forces. His brother General Howe was also serving in America, while a third brother, Sir William Howe, was in command of a fleet off Canada. Lord Howe was entrusted with a document

called a commission for the pacification of America, drawn up by the Ministry and approved of by Parliament. But as this only empowered Howe to receive submissions and to grant pardons; and, as the Americans had no wish to submit and would not allow that they needed pardon, the commission was of no great value. In one way the selection of Lord Howe for this post was a judicious one. His brother had fallen in the former Canadian war, and the State of Massachusetts had set up a monument to him in Westminster Abbey. Lord Howe himself had made great exertions for the reconciliation of the colonies with the mother-country, and the family seem to have been popular among the Americans. Yet it was a measure of doubtful wisdom to make the same man commander of the forces and commissioner for pacification. Each duty was likely to interfere with the other, and, as a matter of fact, it would seem that Howe's overtures might have been received if he had not been at the head of the army, and moreover that he was not anxious, when he had secured a military advantage, to follow it up with the utmost vigour and promptitude.

6. *The British take New York.*—In July the British force, numbering about 8,000, disembarked on Long Island. That island was the key of New York. It was held by the Americans under General Putnam, who was stationed with about 14,000 men at Brooklyn, a strong piece of ground just opposite the city of New York, and separated from it by a sheet of water called the East River. Putnam suffered himself to be surrounded, and his troops were defeated with great loss, under the eyes of Washington, who saw the battle from the opposite shore. If Howe had followed up his success, it might have been nearly fatal to the American cause. But he hesitated, and Washington succeeded in getting his whole force safely across the East River. For forty-eight hours it is said he never slept and scarcely even

dismounted. With such care and good order was the retreat managed that it was not detected by the enemy till it was complete. The British themselves allowed that the manner in which this was executed did great credit to the military skill of Washington. In another engagement a few days later, in front of New York, the Americans were again defeated. This time there is little doubt that many of the Americans behaved with great cowardice. Probably the defeat at Brooklyn had utterly shattered their confidence. After this Washington made no attempt to hold New York, and on the 15th of July the British soldiers entered the town unopposed. Here again it was thought that Howe did not follow up his advantage as he might have done against the retreating Americans. During these operations a conference was held between Lord Howe and three commissioners from Congress. The meeting was a friendly one, and Lord Howe expressed his sincere wish to befriend America, but nothing likely to lead to peace could be arranged.

7. Operations in New Jersey.—Washington now adopted an entirely new policy. It was clearly useless to oppose his undisciplined troops to the British. Accordingly he determined to avoid a general engagement, and to content himself with petty skirmishes, in which defeat would not be fatal, while success would give his soldiers experience and confidence. In this policy he was helped by the singular want of energy shown by the British commanders. Though a pitched battle was almost sure to have resulted in their favour, and though one decisive victory might almost have settled the war, yet no attempt was made to bring on a general engagement. Washington was suffered to fall back beyond the Delaware, leaving the whole country between that river and the Hudson in the hands of the British. But though the British had not turned their superiority to full account, yet the cause of America never looked more hope-

less than it did at this time. The American troops were no longer, as they were at Boston, in a country whence they could draw ready and plentiful supplies. The three middle states, New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, were, as I have said, throughout the war the least faithful to the American cause. The contrast between Washington's undisciplined, ill-supplied, and retreating troops, and the well-drilled and triumphant British army must have strengthened the feeling in favour of Great Britain. So completely did the invading forces seem to have gained the command of the country that the Congress fled from Philadelphia in fear of an immediate attack. Washington's army was dwindling from day to day, as many of the men had served their time and would not re-enlist. Lee, one of his best officers, was surprised in his quarters and taken prisoner. To complete the misfortunes of the Americans, Parker and Clinton, after their discomfiture in Carolina, had proceeded against Rhode Island and occupied it. The tide however soon turned. Early in December Washington made a bold dash across the Delaware, and cut off a whole British detachment at a place called Trenton, taking a thousand prisoners and scarcely losing a single man himself. Encouraged by this, he fell unexpectedly on the rear of Cornwallis's army and inflicted considerable loss on it. He then threw out scattered detachments, who overran the country, taking one post after another, till at last the British held only two places, Brunswick and Amboy, south of the Hudson. The effect of this campaign was most disastrous to the British. The Tories, who were numerous in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, found themselves left to the mercy of their enemies. Few would join the British standard when it had proved so incapable of protecting them. Moreover the conduct of the British troops, and still more that of their allies, had not been such as to win the friendship of the inhabitants.

8. Battles of the Brandywine and Germantown.—During the spring of 1776 both armies kept quiet. Washington, as before, avoided a pitched battle, while the British contented themselves with destroying some of the American magazines. In some of the skirmishes which ensued, great daring was shown on each side, especially by General Arnold. The Americans obtained one success which gave them special satisfaction. By a bold stroke they seized Prescott, a British general, in his quarters, and carried him off. This capture they considered an equivalent for the loss of General Lee the year before. In June Howe began his operations against Philadelphia. Instead of marching straight on that place through New Jersey and Pennsylvania, he embarked, sailed southwards into the Chesapeake Bay, and proceeded up the Elk river to a spot about seventy miles from Philadelphia. Washington was at first puzzled by Howe's embarkation, and did not know at what part of the coast the British were aiming. Finally he drew up his troops on the Brandywine, a stream some thirty miles from Philadelphia, and there awaited Howe. Washington seems to have been ill-informed as to the movements of his enemy. Thus Lord Cornwallis crossed the river, and fell upon the right flank of the Americans before they were ready for an attack. After a sharp engagement, the Americans were defeated with the loss of about thirteen hundred men and nearly all their artillery. No further attempt was made to hold Philadelphia, and on the 26th of June the British entered the city. The Americans, foreseeing that they might lose Philadelphia, had taken various precautions to block the navigation of the river below it, by sinking ships, placing barriers across, and erecting batteries on the banks. These however were all removed by the British. Their defeat at the Brandywine and the loss of Philadelphia do not seem to have dispirited the Americans as much as might have been expected. The events of the previous year had

taught them with what speed a seemingly brilliant success might be reversed, and that it was harder for the British to hold a district than to conquer it. Moreover they had probably seen enough of Howe to know that he would not follow up his victory promptly and vigorously. Washington soon showed that he had not lost confidence either in himself or in his troops. A large portion of the British army was at Germantown, a village six miles from Philadelphia. Washington marched against them and, helped by a fog, took them by surprise. At first the battle seemed likely to be a complete victory for the assailants, but the British rallied, the Americans fell into confusion, which was made worse by the fog, and finally they retreated, leaving the British in possession of the field. The British loss was about five hundred, the American more than double. Nevertheless the result of the battle seems to have been looked on by the Americans as encouraging. Their troops had for the first time attacked the British in a pitched battle, and that for a while with success. All their victories before had been either surprises, or had merely consisted in defending themselves behind earthworks or fortifications. Whenever they had met the British in any numbers on an open field, as at Brooklyn and on the Brandywine, they had been utterly and disgracefully defeated. Thus the battle of Germantown, though unimportant in itself, was looked on in some measure as a turning-point. The French especially deemed it a proof of greater military prowess than they had yet given the Americans credit for. After this no further operation of any importance took place before the two armies went into winter quarters.

9. *Washington's Difficulties.*—Though the condition of Washington and his army was on the whole more hopeful than it had been in the summer of 1776, yet it was in many respects deplorable. Many of the men were without the ordinary necessities of life. They had neither shoes, blankets,

nor shirts. As Washington said, they literally served in the field, since most of them had no tents to cover them. So badly off were they for supplies, that Washington at one time declared that the army would soon have "to starve, to dissolve, or to disperse in quest of food." The same evil which had beset Washington at the outset still went on, the system namely of short enlistments. Till he had an army definitely enlisted for the whole war, Washington felt that he never could achieve any great success. Moreover, the recruiting was hindered by the system which allowed each state to decide for itself the terms on which its men should serve. Some states gave large bounties, others small, and, as might have been expected, the latter got but few recruits, and those discontented. Another grievance, against which Washington protested strongly and repeatedly, was the want of a system of half-pay. Thus the officers could never look upon their profession as affording them a provision for life, and without this few could feel any real and lasting attachment to the service. This and other measures for the improvement and relief of the army, were hindered by the extreme dread which Congress had of the growth of a military despotism. It was especially opposed to the system of half-pay, as tending to establish a privileged class, and to weaken those principles of liberty and equality on which the government rested. Under all these trials, Washington's moderation and patience never failed. He remonstrated with Congress on their inactivity, but always in a dignified and temperate tone. When compelled to levy supplies by force, he did his utmost to make his demands as little exacting and annoying as might be. No failure or disappointment betrayed him into harshness or injustice to his subordinates. No shadow of jealousy ever seems to have crossed his mind. All who deserved praise received it, heartily and generously bestowed, while no man was ever more indifferent to his own just claims to honour.

10. The Convention of Saratoga.—In the meantime operations of great importance had been going forward in the north. In June 1777 a force of 7,000 men, under the command of General Burgoyne, set out from Canada for the invasion of the Northern States. Their plan was to march down the valley of the Hudson and so cut off New England from the rest of America. Amongst Burgoyne's troops was a force of Indians, the first that had been used on either side in any of the regular operations of this war. Their want of discipline and their unfitness for regular service made them of little use to the British, while the cruelties of which they were guilty enraged the Americans and greatly embittered the contest. It must be said in justice to Burgoyne that he did his best to restrain his savage allies. Nor had the Americans much right to complain of the employment of the Indians, since it would seem that they themselves were willing enough to enlist them if the British had not been beforehand with them. At first things went well with Burgoyne. Ticonderoga and other strong places on the frontier were taken, partly, it was thought, through the incapacity of their commanders. But before long the difficulties of Burgoyne's situation became manifest. He had to march through a country of forests and swamps, where no supplies could be got, and thus the troops had to carry everything with them. Moreover the British were not strong enough in numbers to keep up communications with Canada. Gates, who was in command of the American army in the north, was a man of no great ability, but he was ably seconded by Arnold. The first check that Burgoyne received was in August at Bennington, where two detachments of his troops, sent off to seize an American magazine, were attacked successively by General Starke before they could unite, and both utterly defeated. Encouraged by this and urged by the immediate pressure of invasion, the New Englanders flocked to Gates's

standard, and he was soon at the head of a large, well-armed, and active, though undisciplined force. In September and October a number of fierce engagements took place in the neighbourhood of Saratoga, in all of which the British suffered heavy loss, though they held their ground. But in their condition an undecided battle was as fatal as a defeat. General Clinton was to have marched from New York and to have joined Burgoyne. He was hindered in starting by want of supplies. Like Burgoyne, he obtained some success at the outset, but the delay in starting proved fatal. With his troops surrounded, worn out with hardships and long marches, and reduced to the greatest straits for supplies, Burgoyne had no choice but to surrender. Gates granted him liberal terms. The British troops were not to be treated as ordinary prisoners of war, but were to be allowed to return to England on condition of not serving again in America. The officers were to be admitted to parole, and the regiments were to be kept together and to retain their baggage. This surrender, the Convention of Saratoga, as it was called, has been usually looked on as the great turning-point in the War of Independence. Hitherto the result of the war seemed doubtful, inclining perhaps rather in favour of the British. Now it became clear that the success of the Americans was merely a question of time.

II. The Convention Troops. — The treatment of the Saratoga prisoners, or, as they were called, the Convention troops, was in no wise creditable to the Americans. Instead of being properly quartered, as had been promised, they were crowded together into close barracks, regardless of rank. They were also broken up into several detachments. The straitened circumstances of the Americans were urged in excuse of these breaches of agreement, but it would seem that the difficulty might have been got over. The letters of Jefferson, written at the time, show that he looked on this

affair as a blot on the honour of his country. Finally, the troops were not allowed to sail, although the British furnished transports for them, on the ground that no time was fixed for the fulfilment of the treaty, and that there was a difference between refusing and merely delaying their departure. Throughout the whole of the war the treatment of prisoners generally was a matter of frequent, and seemingly of just, complaint on both sides. The British in some cases claimed the right of treating the Americans, not as prisoners of war, but as rebels, and this led to retaliation.

12. Alliance with France.—The most important immediate result of the American success was the conclusion of an alliance with France. As we have seen, one of the first steps taken by Congress was to send three commissioners, Deane, Lee, and Franklin, to France. The choice of Franklin was in many ways a happy one. There was at that time a strong passion for natural science in France, and Franklin's attainments in that study made him popular and admired there. The Americans were less fortunate in his colleague Deane. He caused much trouble by entering into various contracts in the name of Congress without any sufficient authority. For a time the French Government confined itself to secretly helping the Americans with money and arms. One form in which the friendship of the French for America showed itself, though well meant, was very inconvenient. Many young and inexperienced Frenchmen volunteered their services to the Americans. Their ignorance of the English language made them utterly useless, while their promotion was a constant source of jealousy and dissatisfaction in the American army. To this there were two notable exceptions, Baron Steuben and the Marquis of Lafayette. Steuben was an experienced soldier, and, though ignorant of the English language, did good service in drilling and disciplining the American troops. Lafayette was a young

man of high family. Inflamed with enthusiasm at the sight of a people fighting for their freedom, he crossed to America in spite of the opposition of his friends and kinsfolk. His courage and other noble qualities endeared him to Washington, and he took a prominent part in military operations during the later years of the war. He did even greater service by enlisting the sympathies of the French court and nation in favour of America. So persistent and so successful was he in this that some one said that it was well that he did not want the furniture of Versailles for his beloved Americans, as the king could never have refused it. During the first two years of the war, the French had not faith enough in the strength and perseverance of the Americans to enter into an alliance with them. But with the defeat of Burgoyne and the battle of Germantown this feeling changed, and in February 1778 a treaty was signed. Each nation promised to help the other in defensive and offensive operations. The war was to be carried on in support of the freedom, sovereignty, and independence of the United States. All conquests in America were to belong to the Americans; all in the West India Islands to France. Neither nation was to conclude a separate peace. The French alliance was, in a military point of view, an undoubted gain to America. Without it, the war might have been prolonged for many years. It gave the Americans the one thing that they needed, a fleet. As long as the British had command of the sea, they could move from point to point, and could attack any part of the coast before the Americans could march to its defence. The alliance however had its drawbacks. It drew America into the whirlpool of European politics, in which it had no natural share or interest. Moreover, it greatly strengthened the hostility of the British, and made enemies of many who had hitherto been lukewarm or even friendly. It would have been at

once more creditable to America, and less painful to England, if the Americans had won their independence by their own unaided exertions. They possibly might not have done so, but that was due rather to the want of energy and patriotism than to the weakness of the nation.

13. *Affairs in England.*—For more than a year after the Declaration of Independence the affairs of America made little stir in England. The declaration, if it had united America, had united England too, and many who before had been opposed to the ministry now acquiesced in its policy. But in the spring of 1778 Chatham returned to parliament, and his voice was at once raised against the ministry. He was indeed strongly opposed to the separation of America from Great Britain; but he was quite as strongly opposed to the means hitherto used for preventing that separation. In one of his most eloquent speeches he denounced the policy of the ministry, who had armed the Indians against men of English blood. When the defeat of Burgoyne was known, the feeling against the ministry became general. Hitherto the opponents of the ministry had denounced the folly and injustice of an attempt to coerce the Americans; now they began to insist on its hopelessness. The ministry itself was in a state of weakness and confusion. Lord George Germaine had resigned his office in consequence of quarrels with Carleton and Howe. Lord North, who was now convinced of the hopelessness of the undertaking, would gladly have yielded to the Americans or have left office, but the King would not hear of either. In February, Lord North so far changed his former policy as to bring in two bills, one pledging the English Government never to impose a direct tax on the colonies, the other proposing to send out five commissioners to treat with the Americans, with full power to suspend all Acts passed since 1763. Both bills were

carried, and the commissioners went out, but, like Howe two years before, they could do nothing. Three or four years earlier such concessions might have saved the colonies, but the time for them was past. During the course of the session, the feeling of dissatisfaction with the ministry increased. All eyes turned to Chatham as the one man who might perchance save the nation. To defeat France and to conciliate America were both tasks for which in earlier days he had shown his fitness. It was not fated that his powers should be tried again. On the 7th of April he was borne fainting from the House of Lords, and in a few weeks later he died. It may well be doubted whether, even if he had lived, and if all things had favoured him, he could have contrived at once to conciliate the Americans and to retain their allegiance. Though he asserted strongly the necessity of doing both, yet he does not seem himself to have seen any way in which they could be done. The scheme of conciliation which he proposed in 1775 might then have been successful, but in 1778, even the vigour of his last days could hardly have done more than prolong the struggle.

14. Campaign of 1778.—The operations of these two years were marked with little that was striking on either side. The Americans were weakened by internal jealousies and divisions. A party hostile to Washington had sprung up in the army, headed by one Conway. They attempted to injure Washington by contrasting his indecisive operations with the brilliant success of Gates. Gates, who seems to have been a weak and vain man, at least sanctioned, if he did not encourage, this intrigue. The same spirit of division showed itself in Congress. "For God's sake," Lafayette wrote from France, "prevent the Congress from disputing loudly together; nothing so much hurts the interest and reputation of America." Washington drew

an equally lamentable picture of the state of affairs at Philadelphia. Writing thence he says, "Speculation, speculation, and an insatiable thirst for riches, seem to have got the better of every other consideration, and of almost every order of men ; party disputes and personal quarrels are the great business of the day." This was partly due to the fact that the various states were so occupied with their own affairs, and with the formation of their own governments, that the best men were serving in State offices, instead of in Congress. The American finances too were in a desperate state. The notes issued by Congress had fallen to less than one-thirtieth of their nominal value ; so that, as Washington said, a waggon-load of money could scarcely purchase a waggon-load of provisions. The British generals took no advantage of the demoralized state of their enemies. During the spring of 1778 the British remained inactive at Philadelphia ; and in June they abandoned that city, and gathered together their forces at New York, to be ready for an invading force from France. In the West, small bands of Tories and Indians wrought great damage, destroying whole villages, and doing much to irritate, though nothing to subdue, the Americans. During the year the French alliance bore but little fruit. A fleet was sent out under Admiral d'Estaing ; but, after staying for some time in Boston Harbour, it sailed off to attack the British in the West Indies. A scheme proposed by Lafayette for the invasion of Canada was rejected by Congress. The French themselves did not look favourably upon this scheme ; and it is noteworthy that throughout the war they showed no wish that Canada should be taken from the British : this, no doubt, was because the English thought it better for themselves that all Northern America should not be united under a single government.

15. *British Successes in the South.*—Clinton, who in

the spring of 1778 succeeded Howe in command of the British forces, resolved to attack the Southern states. Hitherto, since the opening year of the war, they had been left unassailed. Clinton thought that they would be therefore less prepared for an attack than the Northern colonies. At the same time, as their resources had not been much impaired, the Americans depended mainly on them for supplies, and thus Clinton hoped that a blow there would be specially felt. At first results seemed to make good Clinton's hopes. In November 1778 a small force under Colonel Campbell took Savannah, drove the American forces out of Georgia, and brought the whole of that state under the British government. Campbell was soon after succeeded by General Prevost. He carried the war into South Carolina, defeated General Lincoln, one of the ablest of the American commanders, and seized Port Royal, an island favourably placed for an attack on Charlestown. In the autumn of 1779, Lincoln was joined by D'Estaing, with a land force of about 5,000 men, and they proceeded to attack Savannah. All attempts, however, to take the place, by bombardment, storm and blockade, were alike unsuccessful; and in November D'Estaing departed from America. During this time other attacks were made by the British on Virginia and the other middle states. Much damage was done, and many places were taken, but Washington refused to be led into a pitched battle, and no decisive blow was struck. The only set-off against these British successes was the capture of Stony Point, by Wayne, an American general. This place had been lately taken from the Americans. Wayne, by a forced march, took the place, and carried it at the point of the bayonet. Though the British soon recovered Stony Point, yet Wayne's success seems to have done a good deal to encourage the Americans. In the spring of 1780, the

British, commanded by Clinton himself, attacked Charlestown. The commander of the American fleet, instead of waiting to oppose the British at the mouth of the harbour, sank some of his ships to block the entrance, and retreated with the rest. The British fleet made its entrance without much difficulty; and on the 11th of May the place surrendered. The garrison were allowed to march out with the honours of war. Congress now sent Gates to take command in the South. The success which attended him in the North now deserted him, and he was utterly defeated by Lord Cornwallis, whom Clinton had left in command. Other smaller actions took place, in all of which the British were successful. It seemed as if the British had completely mastered the Southern states. But, as in New Jersey in 1777, it was soon seen that it was easier for the English to conquer than to hold. Cornwallis and Lord Rawdon, who was next in command, both enraged the Americans by their harsh treatment of those who had opposed the British government. It must be said, in palliation of their severity, that many of the Americans showed an utter want of honesty in getting protections from the British commanders as loyal subjects, and then serving against them; prisoners too who were on parole carried on a secret correspondence with the Americans in arms.

16. *Arnold's Treason.*—In the North, the chief event of the year 1779 was the utter and ignominious defeat of an American force which had attacked a newly-formed British post at Penobscot. A fleet of thirty-seven ships had been prepared at considerable expense by the state of Massachusetts, and placed under the command of one Saltarstall. At the first sight of the British fleet he fled, and then, finding escape impossible, blew up the whole of his ships, save two which were captured. During the spring and summer of 1780 no important operations took

place in the North ; but later in the year the Americans narrowly escaped a very severe blow. Arnold, who had so distinguished himself before Quebec and against Burgoyne, was in command of a fort called West Point, on the Hudson. As it commanded that river, the place was of great importance. Various circumstances helped to make Arnold dissatisfied and disaffected. He had been tried by court-martial on the charge of having used his official power to extort money from citizens, and of having applied public funds and property to his own uses. On the last of these charges he was found guilty. Moreover his extravagant habits had got him into difficulties. This, and the feeling that his services had been undervalued, led him into the design of going over to the British. The agent appointed by the British to arrange the treason was Major André, a young officer of great ability and promise. Everything was in train for the surrender of West Point, when André was captured within the American lines with a pass from Arnold. Papers found upon him disclosed the plot. Arnold had got warning before he could be seized and fled down the Hudson in a swift rowing-boat. André was tried by court-martial and hanged as a spy. This sentence was fully approved by Washington, who resisted all attempts to lighten the sentence. By some the execution of André has been reckoned a serious blot on the fame of Washington and of the Americans. He, it is said, was acting as an authorized agent, under a flag of truce, and with the formal protection of Arnold, and so was entitled by the laws of war to pass in safety. On the other hand, it has been urged that the purpose for which he came, that, namely, of arranging an act of treachery, deprived him of all such rights ; and that Arnold's protection was worthless, as being given by one whom André and the British knew to be a traitor. The Americans offered to

release André on one condition: viz., that Arnold should be surrendered in his stead; but the British would not hear of this. During the rest of the war Arnold served in the British army, but with no great distinction.

17. *Mutiny of the American troops.*—Arnold's treason was not the only danger of that kind which threatened the Americans. On New Year's day, 1781, thirteen hundred of the troops in Pennsylvania, wearied by want of food, clothing, and pay, and by the indifference of Congress to their complaints, broke into open mutiny, killed two of their officers, and declared their purpose of marching to Philadelphia to obtain their rights by force. Washington, who understood the justice of some of their demands and the extent of their provocation, sent instructions to General Wayne, who was in command in Pennsylvania, not to resist the mutineers by force, but to get from them a statement of their grievances. At the same time he persuaded Congress to send commissioners to confer with the mutineers. One of their grievances was that they were not relieved from service, though the period for which they had enlisted had expired. On this point the commission gave way, though by doing so they ran the risk of weakening the American forces. Some of the mutineers took their discharge, but most of them returned to service. Sir Henry Clinton had supposed that this would be a favourable opportunity for drawing away the discontented forces from their allegiance, and sent two messengers to treat with them. But, so far from listening to these proposals, the mutineers seized the messengers and handed them over to the American commander, by whom they were put to death. The spirit of disaffection seemed likely to spread, and another mutiny broke out in New Jersey. This time however the government was prepared. A force of six hundred men held in readiness, against such an emergency, was sent against them. The mutineers were taken by

surprise, and two of the ringleaders tried by court-martial and shot. This put an end for the present to all outward show of disaffection.

18. *Surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown.*—For a while Cornwallis followed up his success at Charlestown. His plan was to leave Lord Rawdon in command in South Carolina, and to march through North Carolina and Virginia, so as to join Clinton in New York. To do this it was necessary to take a line of march a considerable distance from the sea, where the streams were small enough to be easily crossed. This cut him off from all communication with the coast, and forced him to march through a country ill-provided with supplies and difficult of passage. In his march through Carolina he was opposed by the American forces under General Green. This man, a Quaker by religion and a blacksmith by trade, had served as a private soldier in the early years of the war, and had risen by merit to the command which he now held. Unlike Gates, he stood high in the confidence and esteem of Washington. He showed considerable skill in his opposition to Cornwallis. In an engagement between some irregular American troops under General Morgan, and a part of Cornwallis's army under Colonel Tarleton, the British were defeated with considerable loss, but in a pitched battle soon after at Guildford the British, though greatly outnumbered, were after a stubborn contest successful. Cornwallis however, like Howe in the middle states, had other foes beside the American soldiers to deal with. Even those inhabitants who professed themselves loyal showed no zeal or energy in supporting him. Horses could not be got, and thus Cornwallis was compelled to destroy all his waggons but four kept for the sick, and all his stores except those absolutely needed for the bare support of his men. In the meantime the Americans had received a great addition of strength. In July, 1780, a French fleet

arrived, with a force of six thousand soldiers on board. Thus strengthened, in the spring of 1781, Washington was in a position to strike a decisive blow, and he felt that such an effort was needful to restore the spirits and confidence of his countrymen. For a time he doubted whether to attack Clinton at New York, or to march southwards against Cornwallis. The arrival of a fresh fleet of twenty-eight ships from the West Indies, probably decided him to adopt the latter course. For a considerable time Washington made as if he would attack New York, so as to deter Clinton from marching southward to join Cornwallis, and when the American and French forces at length set out towards Virginia, Clinton for a while regarded their march as a mere feint. Meanwhile Lafayette had been sent against Cornwallis, not to engage in a pitched battle, but to harass him and hinder his movements. In this Lafayette succeeded. In September Washington marched into Virginia with a force of some twenty thousand men, against seven thousand under Cornwallis. The position of Cornwallis was not unlike that of Burgoyne at Saratoga. He was stationed at Yorktown in the Chesapeake Bay. The chief advantage of this position was that it might enable Clinton's force from New York to join him by sea. But Clinton was delayed for a fortnight in setting out, and, as in Burgoyne's case, arrived too late to be of any service. On the 1st of October, Cornwallis found himself completely surrounded by land, and cut off from the sea by the French fleet. Many of his troops were rendered useless by sickness, and a desperate attempt to cross the Bay and force his way northward to New York was stopped by a storm. The enemy too were well supplied with heavy artillery, and the slender earthworks of Yorktown gave no shelter against their fire. A sally, in which two of the American batteries were destroyed, only to be at once repaired, showed the hopelessness of Cornwallis's position, and

on the 17th of October he surrendered. This great defeat was in reality the conclusion of the war. Petty hostilities were carried on during the summer of 1782, but the defeat of Cornwallis left no question as to the final result.

19. *The American Navy.*—Nothing has been said as yet of the American navy. As it took no part in any of the important operations of the war, it seems better to consider it separately. At the outset of the war the Americans were even less prepared by sea than by land. They had a militia, and their wars with the Indians and the French had given both officers and men some experience and skill. But at sea they had no such advantages. It is an easier matter too to drill and arm active and able-bodied men than to build a fleet. But, though there was no possibility of the Americans coping with the British navy, yet they were not altogether powerless on the seas. The ports of the northern colonies, especially of New England, had trained up a race of hardy and experienced seamen. Piracy too was rife on the American coast and in the West Indies, and thus the Americans had sailors ready to hand, well fitted for privateering service. Whenever the Americans attempted any combined operations by sea against the British, they failed, and, till the French fleet came to their help, their sea coast was almost at the mercy of the enemy. But a number of small vessels, some fitted out by Congress, others provided with letters of marque, did great damage to British traders. So great was the terror which they struck that the rate of insurance, even for voyages between England and Holland, rose considerably. The most noteworthy of these was Captain Paul Jones, an Englishman by birth, but in the service of the American Government, who carried terror along the English coast, and even went so far as to burn the shipping in the harbour of Whitehaven.

20. *Conclusion of Peace.*—Beside Cornwallis's defeat there

were other things to make England eager for peace. The country was now engaged in war with France, Spain, and Holland, an allied fleet had been in the English Channel, and had threatened the Irish coast. The news of the surrender at Yorktown reached England on the 25th of November, and two days later, at the opening of Parliament, the King announced the evil tidings and called on the nation for "vigorous, animated, and united exertions." This was the signal for an attack on the Government, led in the Upper House by Shelburne, in the Lower by Burke. The latter scoffed at the folly of attempting to assert our rights in America, and likened it to the conduct of a man who should insist on shearing a wolf. Evil tidings from other quarters kept pouring in. Minorca, a British station and the best harbour in the Mediterranean, was in February surrendered to the French. In the same month Conway, who had been among the first to take up the cause of America in Parliament, brought forward a motion for giving over the war. Soon after Lord North, seeing that he could no longer reckon on the support of the House, resigned. His successor, Rockingham, died in the course of the year. Shelburne then became Prime Minister. He, like Chatham, whose follower and disciple he professed himself, had spoken strongly against separation, but now he felt that the struggle was hopeless, and negotiations for peace went forward. There was little to hinder the settlement of terms. America only wanted independence ; England sincerely wished for peace ; and each side was ready to grant what the other asked for. There were only two points on which there seemed likely to be any difficulty. The British Government was unwilling to give the Americans the right of using the Newfoundland fisheries, and also required that the American Government should compensate the loyalists for their losses during the war. On both these points the British Government finally gave way. A demand made by the Americans for

the cession of Canada was quietly abandoned. Crushed though England was, there was no likelihood of her making such a concession. All the British territory however between Georgia and the Mississippi was ceded, while, by a treaty made with Spain at the same time, England gave up the Mississippi and the land south of it. The treaty was arranged, though not formally signed, without consulting the French Government. The treaty between France and America provided that neither should make a separate peace with England. The Americans got over this by making the treaty conditional only, and agreeing that it should not be formally signed till England and France had come to terms. The French not unnaturally thought this an evasion of the spirit, if not of the letter of their treaty. The Americans however justified themselves on the ground that the French, in their proposals for peace, had shown themselves indifferent to the advantage of America. No open breach however followed between the allies. On the 3rd of September peace was signed, and the United States of America became an independent power.

CHAPTER XX.

THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION.

The articles of confederation finally settled (1)—shortcomings of the confederation (2)—disturbances in the army (3)—insurrection in Massachusetts (4)—the Annapolis convention (5)—the Philadelphia convention (6)—the Federal constitution (7)—the constitution put in force (8)—Washington elected president (9)—growth of two parties (10)—retirement and death of Washington (11)—John Adams elected president (12)—defeat of the Federals (13)—new States (14).

1. The Articles of Confederation finally settled.—As we have seen, the Articles of Confederation, although settled by

Congress in 1777, were not accepted by all the states till 1781. The main hindrance to their acceptance was the claim of some of the larger states to unoccupied lands. Some of the old grants from the English crown reached to the South Sea, that is to say, they were practically unlimited towards the west. The state most likely to profit by this was Virginia. In May 1779, the delegates from Maryland, instructed by the government of that state, opposed the claim of Virginia to this vacant soil, on the ground that it had been defended at the common cost of all the states, and that Virginia would be so strengthened by keeping it as to be dangerous to the other states. Till this claim was given up and the land in question made common to all the thirteen states, they refused to accept the Articles of Confederation. Some other of the smaller states followed the example of Maryland. In the next year New York led the way to a settlement of this difficulty by resigning its claims. Thereupon Maryland, Delaware, and New Jersey, which had all stood out hitherto, accepted the Articles, protesting at the same time that they did not allow the claim of Virginia to be just, but that, in such an emergency, they would not hinder national union. Virginia, influenced by the example of New York, gave up her claims, and in 1781 the terms of confederation were finally accepted.

2. *Shortcomings of the Confederation.*—The history of the war has served in a great measure to show the shortcomings of the Confederation. These mainly came from one great defect ; its inability to force the citizens to comply with its wishes. After the war this was even more felt. Congress had no power of maintaining an army or navy, no control over trade, no means of raising public funds, and no mode of enforcing its will but by an appeal to arms. In the words of Washington, it was “little more than a shadow without the substance.” Moreover, from its want of power, it was

despised and neglected by those who should have been its chief supports. The ablest men were occupied with the politics of their own states. Congress consisted of little more than twenty members. The evils of this were soon seen. In 1780, after some difficulty, twelve states assented to a general system of import duties. The thirteenth however, New York, resisted, and thus one state was able to hinder a measure which was needful for the credit and security of the whole nation. So too articles in the treaty with England were set at nought by the different State Governments. The treaty provided that all debts incurred up to that time between citizens of either country should still hold good; that no person should suffer any loss or damage for any part which he might have taken in the war. Laws however were passed by the various State Legislatures in direct defiance of these articles, and all that Congress could do was to exhort them to annul these laws and to comply with the treaty. Congress too showed itself unable to deal with great questions such as were sure to come before a National Government. The inhabitants of the Southern States, and of the newly opened western territory, held that it was of the greatest importance to keep the right of navigating the Mississippi. Spain, which possessed the lower waters of the river, refused to grant this right, and, in the negotiations which followed, Congress was thought to show a want of spirit and an indifference to the welfare of the nation.

3. Disturbances in the Army.—Moreover, there were signs of disaffection which showed that the hands of Government needed to be strengthened. In 1781, as we have seen, the inattention of Congress to the wants of the army had led to a mutiny. In the next year a proposal was made by a colonel in the army, representing, as he himself professed, a large number of his brother officers, to make Washington king. The defence for this proposal was the alleged weakness of

the Government. Though Washington met the proposal with a prompt and utter refusal, he accompanied this with a promise to do all that he could to secure the just claims of the army. In spite of the mutiny and of repeated warnings given by Washington, Congress showed an utter want of liberality, and even of honesty and justice, in its dealings with the army. In 1780, after many difficulties and great discussion, Congress promised the officers at the end of the war half-pay for life. But after the acceptance of the Articles of Confederation, this promise was withdrawn, on the ground that the Congress of the Confederation was not the same body as the Revolutionary Congress, and was not bound by the engagements of that body. A meeting of the officers was held, and an address was issued, setting forth the gross injustice of this breach of contract, and, but for the courage and wisdom of Washington, it is likely that a mutiny would have broken out, fatal perhaps to the newly-gained freedom of America. In the end the officers forwarded a temperate remonstrance, and Congress passed a resolution granting them five years' full pay after the disbanding of the army. An event which followed soon after showed the unreasonable distrust with which the nation regarded that very army whose toil and sacrifices had saved it. A society was formed, called the *Cincinnati*, to consist of the officers who had served in the war and their descendants. This was to be a friendly association to keep alive among the members the memory of their joint service, and to establish a fund for the relief of its poorer members, their widows and orphans. Washington consented to be the first president of the society, and this fact, it might have been thought, was a safeguard against any danger. Yet so strong was the popular dread of a military despotism that the establishment of the society met with wide-spread disapproval. So violent was the attack that Washington thought it necessary to persuade

the members to do away with hereditary membership, and to alter other features in the scheme. Even so public displeasure, though lessened, was not altogether removed.

4. *Insurrection in Massachusetts.*—Besides the supposed danger from the army, there were other and better founded causes of fear. No state had suffered more by the war than Massachusetts. Its fisheries and its commerce were destroyed. Taxes had increased, while the means of paying them had lessened, and, as was natural in a time of distress, private debts had accumulated. Thus there came into being a distressed and discontented class, ready for any change. Public meetings were held at which the doctrine was laid down that property ought to be common, because all had helped equally to prevent it from being confiscated by the English Government. The malcontents also proposed to do away with the State Council, and to abolish all taxes. In 1786 an open insurrection broke out, and fifteen hundred men took up arms headed by one Shays, who had served as a captain in the late war. Through the firmness and courage of the governor, James Bowdoin, the insurrection was suppressed, but the most alarming thing was that Congress, although it raised troops in case such an emergency should again arise, yet did not venture openly to declare the object for which these troops were enlisted. In short, it dared not assert either the will or the power to deal with a rebellion.

5. *The Annapolis Convention.*—In this state of things, thoughtful men began to see that, if the United States were to exist as a nation, there must be a central Government with direct power both in internal and external affairs; able to carry on foreign negotiations in the name of the nation, to issue commands to the citizens of the state, and to enforce these commands, if necessary, and to punish those who neglected them. The first man clearly to perceive, and boldly to declare this, was Alexander Hamilton, one of the

most far-seeing and courageous statesmen that any country ever produced. He had already distinguished himself in the war as aide-de-camp to Washington, and at a still earlier time by a series of essays on the rights of the colonies. But, though he had been among the most ardent supporters of American independence, no one saw more clearly the dangers of the new system. So highly did he value a strong central Government, that frequently through his life he was denounced by his countrymen as the advocate of monarchy, and the enemy of his country's liberties. This charge was without the least foundation. Hamilton did indeed believe that the English Government was in itself, and where it was possible, the best system, but he saw as clearly how unfitted it was for America. He wished his countrymen to copy, not the monarchical form of government, but so much of the English system as would make the constitution stable and lasting. In 1783 an opportunity offered for introducing such a change as he wished for. In the spring of that year commissioners were appointed from Virginia and Maryland to settle certain difficulties about the navigation of the Potomac river and Chesapeake Bay. They met at Mount Vernon, Washington's house, and there a plan was proposed for maintaining a fleet on the Chesapeake, and for settling commercial duties. This led to the proposal made by the Assembly of Virginia for a general conference of commissioners from all the states to consider the state of trade. Hamilton saw that this conference might be made the instrument of wider changes, and he persuaded New York to send commissioners, himself among them. In 1780 commissioners from five states met at Annapolis in Maryland. Hamilton laid before them a report, giving reasons why it would be well if a convention of delegates from all the states should meet to consider the state of the National Government. The proposal was adopted. It might have seemed easier and more natural to refer the matter to

Congress, rather than to form a special body for this one object. But Congress no longer represented the strength and wisdom of the nation, and it was generally felt that the task would be beyond it. On the other hand, it shows the wisdom of those who proposed the great measure that they so carried it out as not to weaken the authority of the existing Government, that they did nothing to sweep away, or even to weaken, the old constitution till the new was ready.

6. **The Philadelphia Convention.**—In 1787 the Convention met at Philadelphia. It is scarcely too much to say that no body of men ever met together for a task of such vast importance to the welfare of mankind, or needing so much the highest powers of statesmanship. The President of the Convention was Washington. At the end of the war he had retired into private life, and had ardently believed and hoped that his career as a public man was over. So strongly did he wish for privacy that he at first declined the presidency of the Convention. But the insurrection in Massachusetts showed him the dangerous condition of the country, and the need which she had for the service of every loyal and able citizen, and he accepted the post. In sending delegates to the Convention each state seems to have put out its utmost strength. Scarcely one statesman of note, except Patrick Henry, was away. His hostility to anything which might lessen the importance of the State Governments was so intense that his presence could have been nothing but a hindrance. The mere summoning of a Convention implied that something was to be done, and it was no place for those who were against all change. Hamilton, though he was in a great measure the cause of the Convention being called together, and though he afterwards by his arguments did much to get the new constitution accepted, yet had little to do with framing it. He differed widely in his views from the great bulk of the nation, and he seems to have seen the hopeless-

ness of any attempt to force his opinions upon it. The man who was, above all others, the author of the constitution was James Madison, of Virginia. He was a man of peculiarly moderate temper, able to understand both sides, and to sympathize in some measure with each, and he was therefore specially fitted to deal with a question which could only be managed by a compromise. For it must never be forgotten that the American Constitution did not represent what any one party considered the best possible system, but was framed by each party yielding something. The difficulties before the Convention were various. First, there was the one great obstacle, the wide difference of opinion as to what the new Government should be. Some wished to see it completely override the various State Governments. This view was expressed by Governor Morris, one of the ablest of Hamilton's supporters, who openly said that he regarded the State Governments as serpents whose teeth must be drawn. Others were opposed to anything which could tend even to weaken the State Governments. Besides this, there were other, though perhaps lesser, difficulties. All except the men of extreme views felt that there must be a strong central Government, able at least to conduct the foreign affairs of the nation and possessing such authority over the citizens as was needful for that purpose. At the same time all wished to preserve the State Governments. To combine these two objects was no easy matter. The differences between the various states greatly increased the difficulty. Some depended on trade, others on agriculture. Here everything was done by free labour, here by slaves. Moreover, the forms of law procedure and the rules as to the right of voting were different in the different states. Above all was the great difficulty of dealing with small and large states, of giving due weight to the former without sacrificing the latter. All these difficulties could only be got over by some system

of compromise, by a constitution, that is to say, which should in almost every point fall somewhat short of what each party would consider the best probable plan. Even so, nothing but a strong sense of the evils from which the nation was suffering, and of the dangers of its present condition, could have led the different parties to make such sacrifices of their own wishes as were needful. On one point, and one only, were all agreed, namely, that the new Government must be republican and democratic; that is to say, that the rulers must be chosen by the mass of the people, and be really answerable to the people for their conduct while in office.

7. **The Federal Constitution.**—Two rough schemes were laid before the Convention, one by John Randolph of Virginia, the other by William Patterson of New Jersey. The former, which, with some changes, was finally accepted, represented the views of those who wanted a strong central Government, the Federal party, as they were afterwards called; the other, those of their opponents. Hamilton also brought forward a scheme, but this went so far beyond the wishes and views of the mass of the Federals, that it met with no support. Finally Randolph's scheme was adopted, and the Convention applied itself to casting it into shape. The result, with some changes, has continued to be the Constitution of the United States to the present day. The chief provisions were as follows. The government was to be in the hands of a President and Congress. Congress was to consist of two Houses, the upper called the Senate, the lower the House of Representatives. In this the Convention was no doubt influenced by the example of the State Governments, and so indirectly by that of England. There was however this special advantage in having two Houses. It got over, as no other contrivance could have, the difficulty resulting from the difference of size between the various states. The members of the Upper House were to be elected by the State

Legislatures, those of the Lower House by the qualified electors of the various states. But in the Upper House each state was to have two senators, in the Lower the number of representatives was to be proportioned to the population of the states. Thus the smaller states were not altogether put on an equality with their larger neighbours, nor altogether subjected to them. As in the Congress of the revolution, the question how the slaves should be reckoned in apportioning representatives gave rise to much discussion. Finally a compromise was adopted, and three-fifths of the slaves were counted as population. The power of making laws was entrusted to Congress, but the President's assent was necessary. If the President should refuse his assent to a measure, it was to be sent back to Congress, and if again passed by a majority of two-thirds in each House, it became law. The President himself was to be elected for four years. He was not to be directly elected by the people, but by electors chosen by the citizens in each state. This was introduced with the idea that it would secure a wiser and more deliberate choice than if the people voted directly. But in practice the electors have been chosen, not for their general ability, but simply to vote for this or that candidate. The number of electors for each state was to be equal to the number of senators and representatives together from that state. The manner of choosing these electors in each state was to be decided by the legislature of that state. In most states they were chosen by the mass of the citizens; in some by the State Legislature. If two candidates for the presidency got an equal number of votes, the House of Representatives was to vote between them, voting, not singly, but by states. If no candidate had more than half the votes, then the House of Representatives was to elect one out of the five highest on the list. There was to be a vice-president, who was to fill

the president's place in case of a vacancy. At first the vice-president was to be the second candidate for the presidency, but this was found to give rise to great confusion, and after 1804 the vice-president was chosen by a separate election, though upon the same system. Voting in all kinds of election was to be secret. All citizens were to have the right of voting for president, senators, and representatives, but the question of what made an elector was left to the different State Governments. The president was to have the appointment of all public officers, and to be commander-in-chief of the army and navy. The seat of government was to be a neutral territory belonging to none of the states, but under the direct control of Congress. Afterwards this district was granted by Maryland and Virginia, and is now occupied by the seat of government, Washington. There was to be one supreme judicial court, presided over by a chief justice, who was appointed by the president for life. This supreme court was entrusted with the important task of dealing with all cases in which the enactments of Congress might clash with the enactments of the various State Governments. By this means one of the great obstacles to a confederation was got over. All disputes between the two conflicting powers, the central Legislature and the State Governments, were referred to a body independent of each. Moreover, those who felt the danger of a democratic constitution valued this court as the one part of the Government which was not directly dependent on the people. On the other hand, thoroughgoing democrats like Jefferson looked on this as a flaw in the constitution.

8. **The Constitution put in Force.**—When the constitution was drawn up, the difficulties of its framers had little more than begun. The question at once arose, how was the constitution to be put in force? Congress had no power to grant away its own authority to a new Government, nor had the

nation enough confidence in it to accept its decision. Accordingly the Convention resolved to lay it before the various states. The serious question then arose, what was to be done if some states accepted, some refused? Finally it was decided that, if nine states accepted it, the constitution should take effect, and that, if any of the remaining states refused, they must be left out of the new confederation. Accordingly Conventions of the various states were summoned. The contest was a hard one. Great service was done to the cause of the constitution by a series of essays called the "Federalist." These were written by Hamilton, Madison, and a third Federal statesman, Jay. The struggle was most severe in New York and Virginia, but in both the constitution at length prevailed. In New York the result was mainly due to Hamilton. In Virginia Patrick Henry opposed it with the utmost animosity, and with the power and eloquence of his best days. It is even said that at one meeting he spoke for seven hours at a stretch. In justice to him, it should be said, as indeed it may be said of all the leading opponents of the new system, that, when the constitution was carried, they accepted it honestly and loyally. Henry in particular became conspicuous before his death as a supporter of the central Government against the rights of the separate states. Rhode Island and North Carolina held out the longest, and for a while remained outside the confederation; but they too at length acceded.

9. Washington elected President.—Washington, as all had foreseen from the outset, was called by the united voice of the nation to the presidency. It is hardly too much to say that, if he had not existed, the Federal Constitution would never have been accepted by all the states. In him the nation had a leader who commanded the love and confidence of his fellow-countrymen as no other man ever has. But for this extraordinary good fortune, it is unlikely that the

American people, with its violent dread and hatred of monarchy, would ever have consented to the rule of a president. The new Government did not long enjoy peace. About 1787 hostilities broke out between the inhabitants of the newly-settled western territory and the Indians there. As in such cases generally, there seem to have been acts of unprovoked and unjustifiable violence on each side. Forces were sent against the Indians in 1790 and 1791, but both were defeated with heavy loss. Both the commanders in those expeditions, General Harman and General St. Clair, were tried for incapacity, but acquitted. In 1794 Wayne, who had distinguished himself in the War of Independence, was sent against the Indians. He defeated them in a decisive battle, and in 1795 they sued for peace. In this war the Government met with no small difficulty in enlisting an army. One party in Congress maintained that the war should be carried on solely by the border militia. Great inconvenience too was felt, as in the war with England, from the system of short enlistments. In 1791 an insurrection broke out in Pennsylvania. This sprung out of the discontent felt at the imposition of a duty on spirits. In this same year Washington was re-elected President. His second term of office was marked by still more serious difficulties. The relations of the States with England, France, and Spain were unfriendly. The English Government refused to quit some of the western forts, on the ground that the States had not fulfilled the terms of the treaty. John Adams was sent as envoy to England, and was well received by the King. But for a while the points in dispute remained unsettled. The Spanish Government refused the Americans the use of the lower waters of the Mississippi, and seized ships sailing there. Moreover there were disputes about the boundaries of the Spanish and American territories. The manner in which peace had been

made had done something to sow the seeds of discord between England and France. The outbreak of the French Revolution served further to alter the relations between the two countries. The moderate party in the States stood aloof from the successful revolutionists, and looked upon the influence of that party in America as dangerous, while the Democrats, headed by Jefferson, were drawn more closely towards France. The war between England and France threw the relations of America to both nations into still greater confusion.

10. *Growth of two Parties.*—Before going further, it should be said that two distinct political parties had now sprung up within the states. As we have seen, there was, at the time of the settlement of the constitution, a States right party on the one side, and a Federal party, as it was called, on the other. The States right party always denied the right of their opponents to the name of Federalist, declaring that they were equally in favour of a Federal Government; that the real question was, which system was most truly federal, and that for one party to call themselves Federalists, and their opponents Anti-federalists, was begging the question. But the names, however incorrect in their origin, stuck to the parties, and so it is better to use them. The passing of the constitution in a great measure overthrew the Anti-federal party. But, as soon as the constitution was established, the old struggle was renewed in a slightly different form. The interpretation of the constitution, when it came to be applied to particular cases, was almost as important as the actual form of it. The Anti-federals, on the one hand, strove to limit the power of the central Government as much as possible, and to interpret the constitution in the way most favourable to the State Governments; the Federals wished in everything to strengthen the central Government at the expense of the separate states. In this, there can be no doubt that the

extreme men on each side, and most perhaps those of the Federal party, strove to stretch the constitution beyond what they must have known to be the wishes of its framers. It is important to understand clearly the origin and nature of these two parties, as the division between them runs on through all later American history, changing its form indeed, but still remaining in many important points the same. The Federal party was headed by Hamilton. Its main strength lay in the commercial states of the north and east, and especially among the New York merchants. The other party, with Jefferson for its leader, drew its strength mainly from the southern planters. Washington could not be said strictly to belong to either party ; indeed, his neutrality was one of the points which gave the nation such confidence in him. His leanings however were towards the Federals. He had sought to do justice to both parties by appointing Hamilton and Jefferson the two chief secretaries of state, and making them thereby his principal advisers. The first great subject on which the two parties joined battle was the question of a national bank. This was Hamilton's project. The Anti-federals were opposed to it, as throwing too much power into the hands of Government. They denied that the constitution gave the Government any power to form such an institution. Finally, the bank was established. Another even more serious matter was the foreign policy of the Government. As was said before, Jefferson and his followers were the friends of France ; Hamilton and the Federals, of England. Reckless charges were brought against each of these statesmen, and have been repeated since, accusing them of readiness to sacrifice the interest of America to that of the European nation whom they respectively favoured. But, whatever may have been the case with inferior members of the two parties, there can be no doubt that both Hamilton and Jefferson were above any such designs. Faults they

both had as statesmen ; but, widely as they differed in all things else, they agreed in serving their country faithfully, though on different principles and in different ways. The ill-feeling of both parties was strengthened by the reckless conduct of Genet, whom the French revolutionary Government sent as their representative to America. He sent out privateers from the American ports, and abused the American Government openly for not breaking the existing laws of neutrality, where those laws favoured England at the expense of France. This served to inflame both parties. So violent was the feeling called out among the Democrats that, but for Washington's firmness, they would probably have engaged the country in a war with England. A bill for stopping all trade with England was carried in Congress, and was only prevented from becoming law by the President's veto. In 1794, a treaty was made with England. Here too it was only Washington's influence which carried the question by a bare majority against the Democrats.

II. Retirement and Death of Washington.—In 1796, Washington retired. Although his popularity was marred by the course he took about the treaty, yet he was pressed by many to stand for a third presidency, and he probably would have been elected if he had stood. But he steadily refused, thereby setting a precedent which has been followed ever since. At the same time that he declined to stand, he issued a farewell address to his countrymen. He reminded them forcibly of the need for forgetting all distinctions and remembering only that they were Americans. "The name," he said, "of American must always exalt the just pride of patriotism more than any appellation derived from local discriminations." Following up the same line of thought, he pointed out that the difference between the northern, southern, eastern, and western states, so far from being causes for separation, were in reality only reasons for a closer union, since each

quarter required to be helped, and to have its wants supplied, by the resources of the rest. After his retirement, Washington took no active part in public life, but employed himself with the management of his estates and with farming, in which he took great delight. In the next year the fear of a French war obliged the Government to make military preparations, and Washington was appointed commander-in-chief. The danger however passed over, and the rest of his life was spent in peaceful retirement. That however did not last long. In the next year, 1799, a cold brought on by exposure carried him off after a short illness. Not only in America, but in France and even in England, the news of his death was received with marks of public sorrow. The unpopularity which his foreign policy had brought upon him passed away, and did nothing to weaken the love, gratitude, and esteem, with which his countrymen have ever regarded his memory. Never in all history have such feelings been better deserved. From first to last, no selfish ambition, no desire for aggrandisement, had ever led him astray from the duty which he owed to his country. Successful leaders of revolutions have always been exposed to special temptations, and have seldom altogether resisted them. Few have been more tempted than Washington ; yet none has ever passed through the ordeal so free, not merely from guilt itself, but even from the faintest suspicion of guilt.

12. John Adams elected President.—The election of a successor to Washington was the signal for a severe struggle between the parties. Jefferson was brought forward as the representative of the Democrats, Adams of the Federals. After a close contest the latter was elected. The Federals started another candidate, Thomas Pinckney, of South Carolina. The bulk of the party wished to see Adams president, and Pinckney vice-president, but some of the Federals who were unfriendly to Adams, Hamilton. it was thought, among

them, supported Pinckney for the Presidency. The result of this manœuvring was, that Jefferson came in second, and so was Vice-President. Before Washington's retirement, Jefferson and Hamilton had both left the cabinet. Adams could not have been expected to have much confidence in Hamilton, nor is it likely that Hamilton would have served under him. His position however, outside the cabinet, was in every way unfortunate and unsatisfactory. The members of Adams's cabinet were Hamilton's followers, and completely under his guidance. His influence was always separate from, and often hostile to, that of the President. At first however the prospects of the Federal party and of the Government looked bright. The conduct of the French Government was so outrageous as to disgust even those Americans who were naturally inclined to sympathize with France. When the news of the English treaty reached Paris, the American envoy was treated with gross disrespect. Commissioners were sent out from America in hopes of settling the difficulty. The Directory, then at the head of French affairs, told the commissioners through private agents that the good will of France could only be recovered by the payment of a sum of money. This demand created a great outburst of indignation in America, and a conflict seemed at hand; though war was not formally declared, an American frigate attacked and captured a French one. France, seeing that America was really roused, drew back, and in 1801 a treaty was signed between the two nations.

13. Defeat of the Federalists. — The conduct of France served for a while to make the Federalists popular at the expense of the Democrats. But this did not last long. Adams, though an honest and upright man and an able statesman, was vain, ill-tempered, and unconciliatory. Moreover, he naturally resented the secret influence which Hamilton exercised over the cabinet. Before long, Adams was at war with his whole

cabinet, and the Federal party was hopelessly broken up. He completed their ruin by forcing upon the country two most unpopular measures, the Alien Law and the Sedition Law. The former of these empowered the President to order out of the United States, at his own discretion, any alien whose presence he should judge dangerous. The Sedition Law enforced penalties on any person who published false, scandalous, or malicious writings against the Government, either House of Congress, or the President. Both these laws were generally felt to be opposed to the principles of the American nation, and they brought the Government into great disrepute. Moreover, the extreme Federals, led by Hamilton, were suspected of seeking to involve the country in a war with France. The French Government too became more moderate in its conduct. Thus a strong reaction sprang up in favour of the Democrats. Accordingly, when Adams again stood for the Presidency, he was beaten. The Democrats carried their two candidates, Jefferson and Aaron Burr. The latter was a profligate adventurer of bad character and no ability. The intention of the Democrats was that Jefferson should be carried as President, and Burr as Vice-President. The two however were equal, and the House of Representatives had to vote between them. So bitter was the feeling among the Federals against Jefferson that some of them stooped to vote for Burr, and the two were again equal. The votes were taken thirty-four times with the same result. At last one voter went over, and Jefferson became President. It should be said to the honour of Hamilton, that he opposed this disgraceful intrigue against Jefferson.

14. *New States.*—In 1787 Congress made special provision for the admission of fresh states. This was of course necessary, as there was a vast territory to the west which was sure to be occupied sooner or later. The central Government was empowered to form districts called *Territories*.

These were to be formed, either out of soil which the nation had acquired by treaty or otherwise, or out of land voluntarily surrendered by any of the states. Any such district containing five thousand inhabitants, and not less than a hundred square miles or more than a hundred and fifty in extent, might be formed into a Territory. These Territories were to be governed, each by its own inhabitants, but according to a set constitution, and were to have Governors appointed by the central Government. When its number of inhabitants reached sixty thousand, it might then be admitted as a State, with the same rights as the older states, both as regards self-government and as a member of the Union. The first new state added to the Union was Vermont. This was a district to the north of Massachusetts, lying between the rivers Hudson and Connecticut. As early as 1760 disputes for its possession had arisen between New York and New Hampshire. The English Government decided in favour of New York, but the people of Vermont refused to acknowledge the claim. In 1777 they applied to Congress to be admitted to the confederation as a separate state. New York opposed this, and the application was refused. Accordingly Vermont remained for some years an independent community. Its leading men even made overtures to the British Government, wishing to be joined to Canada. Nothing however came of this, and in 1788 Vermont applied to be admitted to the new confederation. The request was granted; New York accepted thirty thousand dollars as compensation, and in 1791 Vermont became one of the United States. The next state admitted was Kentucky. This was a district to the west of Virginia, which originally formed a part of that State and gradually detached itself from it. Till about 1770 the country was only occupied by a few hunters and scattered settlers; but in 1782 the population had so increased that the

distance from the capital of Virginia was felt to be an inconvenience. To meet this, a Law Court was established in the district, equal in power to that at Richmond. In 1785 a convention was held which petitioned the legislature of Virginia to make the district into a separate state. This was done, and in 1792 the State of Kentucky was admitted to the Union. In 1785 the inhabitants of the north-west frontier of North Carolina wished to separate, and proposed to become a state under the name of Franklin. The matter however could not be settled at the time. In 1789 the legislature of North Carolina handed over the district in question to the United States. It was formed into a Territory, and seven years later it was admitted into the Union as the State of Tennessee. The treaty of peace with Great Britain gave to the United States a vast district between the Mississippi and the Alleghanies. This region was formed into a Territory in 1787. In 1800 a separate territorial Government was formed for the district of Ohio, and in 1802 Ohio was admitted as a State.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE WAR WITH GREAT BRITAIN.

Jefferson president (1)—purchase of Louisiana (2)—war with Tripoli (3)—Aaron Burr (4)—war with Great Britain (5)—invasion of Canada (6)—naval affairs (7)—the Creek war (8)—the destruction of Washington (9)—operations in the North (10)—defence of New Orleans (11)—treaty of Ghent (12)—the cotton-gin and the steam-boat (13).

1. **Jefferson President.**—The election of Jefferson marked the complete triumph of the Democrats. It was followed, as such political victories in America have been ever since,

by wholesale changes in all the Government offices. Jefferson turned out numbers of public servants, and replaced them with his own supporters. He pleaded in defence of this, that he could not trust the followers of his political opponents, Adams and Hamilton. Later Presidents however have, without any such excuse, followed his example. They have created vacancies simply to reward their own followers, and this has been shamelessly defended, on the plea that the conquerors are entitled to the spoils. In his opening address Jefferson laid down clearly the general principles of his party. He declared his intention of "supporting the State Governments in all their rights as the most competent administration for our domestic concerns, and the surest bulwark against anti-republican tendencies." At the same time he spoke of "the preservation of the general Government in its whole constitutional vigour, as the sheet-anchor of our peace at home and safety abroad." He also spoke strongly of the folly and danger of any attempt at separation, thereby differing widely from the champions of State-rights in later times.

2. Purchase of Louisiana.—Soon after Jefferson took office, Napoleon, then First Consul, extorted Louisiana from the Spanish Government. This naturally alarmed the Americans. An active, ambitious, warlike nation, like France, was a far more dangerous neighbour than a worn-out power such as Spain. It was fortunate for America that the Democrats then in power had always striven to stand well with France. Jefferson, knowing that the French Government wanted money, at once entered into negotiations for the purchase of the territory in question. After some discussion, the whole of Louisiana was bought by the Americans for 3,300,000*l*. This arrangement was carried out by the President and his cabinet, without the consent of Congress. In this exercise of arbitrary power Jefferson and his party were guilty of a breach of those Democratic principles

which they had always upheld. The nation however was too well pleased with the result to question the nature of the proceeding. The Spanish Government at first objected to the arrangement, and urged that it had given up Louisiana on the understanding that France should not part with it; but France and America were both ready to enforce the arrangement by arms, and Spain gave way. In 1804 the southern part of the newly-acquired land was formed into a Territory, and in 1812 it was admitted as the State of Louisiana.

3. War with Tripoli.—In 1801 the United States were engaged in their first foreign war. When the Federals came into power under Adams, the American navy was far too weak to protect the rapidly growing commerce of the country. In spite of the opposition of the Democrats, who were hostile to everything which strengthened the hands of Government, much was done during Adams's presidency to put the navy on a better footing. The result of this was soon seen in the dealings of the American Government with the petty states on the coast of Barbary, namely, Tripoli, Algiers, Tunis, and Morocco. Pirates from these states, sanctioned, if not sent out, by their rulers, harassed the commerce of civilized nations. The rapidly-growing trade of America was especially exposed to these attacks, and accordingly the American Government, like some of the European Governments, secured its citizens against the pirates by a yearly payment to the rulers of the Barbary States. In 1800 the Dey of Algiers, presuming on the weakness of the Americans, ordered the captain of the ship which brought the yearly tribute to take an ambassador for him to Constantinople. As the ship lay under the guns of the fort, the captain dared not endanger her by refusing. In 1801 the Pasha of Tripoli, thinking that his State had been treated with less respect than Algiers, threatened to declare war on America. Next year the Americans sent a fleet of

four ships to pacify the various Barbary States, or if, as seemed likely, war had been already declared, to attack them. The American commander found on his arrival that the Pasha of Tripoli had declared war. During the year the Americans took several ships belonging to Tripoli, but struck no serious blow. Next year a fleet of six ships was sent out. It attacked Tripoli without any decisive result. In 1803 the fleet blockaded Tripoli, and was helped by a land force under the command of Hamet Caramalli. He was the elder brother of the reigning Pasha, but had been deposed, and had fled to Egypt. With a mixed force, officered in part by Americans, he marched on Derne, a town in the State of Tripoli, and took it. This was the first and only time that the American flag has ever been hoisted over any place in the Old World. Thus, threatened both by land and sea, the Pasha was glad to make peace. The terms granted him were liberal—in the opinion of many of the Americans, too liberal. No more tribute was to be paid, but the Pasha was to receive 15,000*l.* as ransom for American prisoners. The claims of Hamet Caramalli, having served their turn, were forgotten. Immediately afterwards the Dey of Tunis threatened the American fleet with war, unless they restored a vessel which they had seized on its way into Tripoli. The American commander not only refused to do this, but told the Dey that no tribute would be paid in future. The Dey at first blustered, but, when the American fleet appeared before Tunis, he gave way entirely. These successes put an end, as far as America was concerned, to the disgraceful system of paying black mail to the Mediterranean pirates. During the war great courage was shown in many cases by American officers and seamen, and the practice which they gained bore fruit in the ensuing war with Great Britain.

4. Aaron Burr.—We have seen how, through the intrigues

of a section of the Federal party, Colonel Burr pressed Jefferson closely for the Presidency. In the spring of 1804 Burr stood unsuccessfully for the governorship of New York. During the contest Hamilton used severe, though just language, about Burr. Burr challenged him; they fought, and Hamilton was killed. Other American statesmen have done greater service to their country; none probably ever understood the nature of its constitution so well as Hamilton, or foresaw so clearly the special dangers which lay before it. Burr was soon engaged in fresh misdeeds. He was detected in a plot, the object of which has never been clearly discovered. He was found to be transporting troops and supplies to the southern valley of the Ohio. It seems doubtful whether his object was to raise an insurrection in the West, or to make an independent and unauthorized attack on Mexico with the help of disaffected inhabitants of that country. He was tried on the first of these charges and acquitted. The second was then allowed to drop, as the Government probably felt that his schemes were completely discredited and his power of mischief destroyed. He fled to Europe, and was no more heard of in public life.

5. *War with Great Britain.*—The election of Jefferson and the ascendancy of the Democrats naturally drew the United States towards friendship with France and enmity to Great Britain. The great European war, by crippling the resources both of England and France, threw the carrying trade into the hands of America, and rapidly increased the American merchant navy. A demand for sailors sprang up, and, to supply this, American merchant captains readily received deserters from the British navy. British commanders sought to recover these men, and thus a question arose as to the right of search—the right, that is to say, of British officers to search neutral vessels for deserters. The bitter feeling which

thus sprang up was increased by the fact that British commanders were often unscrupulous in forcibly impressing American citizens. To such a length was this carried that it was believed that, before the end of the great European war, more than a thousand American-born citizens had been pressed into the British navy. In 1807 a question of this kind led to a conflict between two vessels, the British *Leopard* and the American *Chesapeake*. The commander of the *Leopard* demanded to search the *Chesapeake*. The American captain refused. Thereupon the *Leopard* attacked, killing five men and wounding sixteen. The British captain carried off four men who were alleged to be deserters. Three of these were proved to be American citizens wrongfully claimed by the British. The British Government made full amends, but the ill feeling created did not pass away. The growing commercial greatness of the United States soon brought them into conflict, both with Great Britain and France. Each of these nations tried to injure the other by forbidding neutral vessels to enter the ports of its enemy. The American Government met this by laying on an embargo, forbidding all vessels to leave the American ports. This measure naturally annoyed the New England merchants, and drove them even more than before into the ranks of the Federal party. At the same time the Government began to make active preparations for war, and especially to strengthen the navy. In 1807 Madison succeeded Jefferson as President. He had taken a leading part in forming the Federal constitution and in pressing it upon the nation. He could hardly be said to belong to either political party. At first he was a moderate Federal, but he had gradually drifted round and was now Jefferson's secretary of state. One of his first measures as President was to take off the embargo, though he still forbade all intercourse with Great Britain or France. In 1810 France and Great Britain each professed itself ready to repeal its decrees, if the other would do so

first. But neither would take the first step. So far the quarrel of the States had been as much with France as with Great Britain, but now two circumstances arose which turned the scale against the latter. Another fight between two ships sprang up out of a claim to search, put forward by the British. Eleven Americans were killed and twenty were wounded. Beside this Mr. Erskine, the British Minister, was authorized by his Government to announce to the Americans that Great Britain was willing to relax the orders against intercourse with France, so far as they applied to some of the French dependencies, provided the Americans would observe them in all other cases. Instead of making this proposal, he announced that his Government was ready to repeal the orders without any conditions. The British Government had to disavow this declaration, and this led to further ill feeling. Another grievance was the complaint that English agents were stirring up disaffection in the border settlements and intriguing with the Indians there. Moreover, in 1811 Napoleon withdrew his decree against commerce between England and America. No similar concession was made by the British Government. On the 18th of June, 1812, the American Government, on the ground of the various injuries received from Great Britain, declared war. Five days afterwards, before that declaration reached England, the British Government withdrew its orders against commercial intercourse with France. Attempts were then made to restore peace. Each Government however stood firm on the one point of the right of search. In going to war on such trivial grounds, there can be no doubt that the Americans were influenced by their old sympathy and alliance with France, then engaged in her great struggle against the free nations of Europe.

6. *Invasion of Canada.*—The Americans began the war with an attack on Canada. General Hull led the invading

force, composed of two thousand militia and five hundred regulars. The British were aided by an Indian force under Tecumseh. He was a Shawnee chief, a man of great ability and energy. He had gained great influence over the Indians and had made vigorous, and partially successful, efforts to restrain the Americans from encroaching on his countrymen, to wean the Indians from their habits of drunkenness, and to withhold them from selling their lands. Tecumseh had a brother called the "Prophet," a man fully as ambitious as himself, but far less wise. Under his leadership the Shawnees had in 1811 attacked the settlers in Ohio and been defeated by General Harrison at a place called Tippecanoe, after a long and fierce engagement. But as this attempt had been made in Tecumseh's absence and against his wishes, the failure had in no way weakened his influence. His alliance now was of much service to the British. Aided by him, Brock, the British commander in Canada, drove back the invading force into the town of Detroit, and there surrounded and captured them. A smaller American force soon afterwards made another attack on the Canadian frontier. This attempt also failed, and nearly the whole of the invaders were captured, but the British lost their commander, Brock. Next year the attack on Canada was renewed, but with no great success. Several detached attacks were made, but one only effected its object. A force of two thousand men under General Dearborn destroyed the British town of York (now called Toronto). In all the other expeditions the Americans were defeated, in some cases with great loss. Finally, they concentrated their forces, numbering four thousand, for an attack on Montreal. Some trifling engagements followed, in which the British had the best of it, but nothing decisive was done. The British however were unsuccessful in their one attempt to push the war into the enemy's country. A British force of five hundred regulars and seven hundred Indians, well provided with

artillery, under General Proctor, attacked Fort Stephenson on the north-west frontier. This place was held by Colonel Croghan with one hundred and thirty-three men. He refused to surrender, and beat off the assailants, killing one hundred and fifty of them and losing, it is said, only one of his own men. Later in the year the Americans were more successful. In September Commodore Perry, with nine vessels, defeated a British squadron of like size on Lake Erie. In the next year, General Proctor was defeated on the River Thames in Canada after an obstinate engagement, in which Tecumseh fell. As a set-off against these defeats, the British took Fort Niagara, with large stores, and Buffalo, a village on the American frontier.

7. **Naval Affairs.**—At sea the Americans were more successful than by land. Their fleet at the outset of the war was weak in numbers, containing only seven frigates and eight smaller vessels. But their officers were for the most part brave and skilful seamen, and the flourishing American merchant service gave the country the means of manning its regular navy quickly and well. The British navy, on the other hand, had become careless through continued success, and the press-gang system rendered the service unpopular and the men disaffected. In the first year of the war the Americans were victorious in four successive engagements between single ships. But in the spring of 1813 a British fleet of twenty sail entered the Chesapeake Bay. The Americans could not encounter so large a force, and it sailed along the coast, doing much damage. The most remarkable naval event of this year, and indeed of the whole war, was the fight between the *Chesapeake* and the *Shannon*. The *Chesapeake* was the same vessel that had been attacked by the *Leopard* six years before. She was a ship of thirty-eight guns, under the command of Captain Lawrence, and was fitted with every warlike appliance that the skill of the day could suggest.

Her crew however had been aggrieved by some prize-money being withheld from them, and some of her officers were inexperienced. The *Shannon* was also a thirty-eight gun ship, commanded by Captain Broke. She had taken twenty-five prizes, every one of which Broke had destroyed, rather than weaken his crew by drawing out men to take charge of them. Her inferiority to the *Chesapeake* in fittings and resources was more than made up for by the courage of her captain and the high training and seamanship of her crew. During the spring Broke lay off Boston Harbour, waiting for an American vessel to come out. None came, and his supplies began to run short. At length he sent a written challenge to any of the American fleet, whereupon the *Chesapeake* bore down upon him and opened fire. After ten minutes the *Shannon* was laid alongside. The British boarded, and in five minutes, after a fight in which Lawrence fell, the Americans struck their flag. The American loss was forty-seven killed and ninety-nine wounded. On the British side twenty-four were killed and Broke with fifty-eight others wounded. After this affair, remarkable rather as a brilliant duel than for any real importance in its results, nothing noteworthy was done by sea on either side.

8. The Creek War.—The year 1813 saw the Americans engaged with a fresh foe. The Creek Indians, led on by the influence and example of Tecumseh, made war on the southwestern states. This was of interest and importance, not only for its own sake, but because it brought into public view one of the most remarkable men in American history, Andrew Jackson. The leader of the Indians was one Weatherford, a half-breed, a man second only to Tecumseh in ability and influence. The first place attacked was Fort Mims, an outpost on the borders of Alabama. So little did the commander of this place expect an attack that, when a negro brought news of the Indian preparations, he was

flogged for raising a false alarm. A few hours afterwards the fort was attacked, and after a fierce fight was taken. Some of the garrison escaped, but out of five hundred and fifty occupants of the fort four hundred, including all the women and children, perished. Four hundred of the Indians also fell. Weathersford did his best to restrain the ferocity of his countrymen, but to no purpose. The south-western states at once raised forces for an Indian war. That from Tennessee was the first in the field. It was commanded by Andrew Jackson, a native of that state, whose ancestors had emigrated from the North of Ireland. He was now forty-six years old; he was a lawyer by profession, and had been appointed judge of the Supreme Court in his own state. He had also served against the Indians, and was now appointed major-general of the Tennessee army. He was a man of great decision and energy, and considerable ability, but wild in his habits and liable to fearful outbursts of passion, which had frequently engaged him in disreputable quarrels. He was still suffering from wounds received in one of those affairs when he was called on to take the field against the Creeks. Nevertheless, he rose from his sick-bed and went forth at the head of two thousand five hundred men. A detachment of his force attacked and took a stronghold of the Indians called Talluschatches, and soon after Jackson himself defeated the enemy in a pitched battle at Talladega. After this a succession of mishaps seemed at one time to threaten the army with destruction. A party of Indians who had come to make their submission and to ask for terms, were by mistake attacked and cut off. This made the Indians feel that there was no resource but to fight it out to the last, and turned some who might have been friendly, or at least neutral, into enemies. Moreover it was midwinter, and the troops suffered both from the severity of the weather and from lack of provisions.

Jackson too was beset by the same difficulty as the commanders in the revolutionary war. His men were only enlisted for short periods, and they claimed their discharge just when their services were most needed. Once they openly mutinied, but they were brought back by Jackson's prompt dealing and resolute bearing. At last they refused to advance, as it seemed, to certain starvation, and even Jackson had to yield. Supplies however came just when they were most wanted, and the troops were able to advance. In two skirmishes with parties sent out by Jackson the Indians had the best of it, but for more than two months nothing decisive was done. In March, Jackson advanced with his whole force, numbering about one thousand. The Creeks made their stand at a bend of the river Tallapoosa. During the delays caused by the disturbances in the American army the Indians had ensconced themselves in a strong log-fort. Their number of fighting men was about nine hundred. After a fierce fight the Indians were routed with great loss. This, called the battle of Tallapoosa, is generally looked upon as the blow which destroyed the last remnant of Indian power. In the meantime Governor Clayborne of Alabama had attacked and defeated an Indian force under Weathersford. Weathersford himself saved his life by leaping his horse into the river off a bluff fifteen feet high. By these two defeats the power of the Creeks was utterly broken. Some fled to Florida; the bulk of the nation sued for, and obtained peace, surrendering more than half their territory to the American Government. This war was important in two ways; firstly, as setting free the Southern States, and thereby enabling them to employ all their forces against the British invasion; secondly, as being the first step in the career of Andrew Jackson, a man who probably had more influence on his country for good and evil than any President between Jefferson and Lincoln.

9. *The Destruction of Washington.*—The beginning of

the campaign of 1814 was disastrous to the Americans and not altogether creditable to the British. The settlement of peace in Europe enabled Great Britain to turn all her forces against America. But, instead of concentrating all its power in one great attack, the British Government aimed a succession of blows at different points. In August a force of four thousand men under General Ross sailed into Chesapeake Bay. The commander of the American fleet, instead of opposing their landing, burnt his ships and joined the land force. The British thereupon decided to march on Washington. The force opposed to them consisted of one thousand regulars and five thousand militia. Instead of contenting themselves with harassing the British, for which they were better fitted, they drew up ready for a pitched battle at Bladensburg, a point on the Potomac covering Washington. The British crossed the river and drove them back, after some hard fighting, but without much loss on either side. The American commander however decided that his force was too much weakened by the flight of the militia to hold Washington, and accordingly he evacuated the city. The British marched in and destroyed the Government property, including the Capitol, the President's house and the national records; a barbarous violation of the usages of war among civilized nations. Their next proceeding was to march on Baltimore. They were supported by a squadron of fifty sail under Admiral Cochrane, which sailed up the Patapasco river. The town was garrisoned with one thousand five hundred men, nearly all militia. Its chief defence was an outwork called Fort Henry, on the Patapasco. The land-force met with little resistance in its advance, although it lost its commander, Ross, in a skirmish. The fleet bombarded Fort Henry, but was unable either to silence the enemy's guns or to force its way past. As the land-force did not appear strong enough to make the attack unsupported the attempt was abandoned. In the meantime

the British had sustained a severe loss on the coast. Sir Peter Parker, a naval officer of much note, who was in command of a frigate in the Chesapeake Bay, had landed with a small force and had been killed by an outlying party of Americans.

10. Operations in the North.—On the northern frontier the war had been carried on actively on both sides, but without any decisive result. In May the British took Oswego, an important place on the American side of Lake Ontario. In June the Americans renewed their attempt to invade Canada. They crossed near Niagara with five thousand men, captured Fort Erie, and defeated the advance-guard of the British at Chippeway. On the 28th of July they encountered the whole British force at Lundy's Lane, near Niagara. A fierce engagement followed with heavy and nearly equal losses on each side, but with no decisive result. The Americans kept Fort Erie for a while, but finally judging that they could not hold the place, they destroyed it and returned to their own territory. In September Sir George Prevost, the Governor of Canada, made an attempt, somewhat like Burgoyne's, to invade the United States by way of Lake Champlain. He was supported by a fleet of seventeen sail. But a small American fleet under Commodore McDonough engaged the British fleet and utterly defeated it at Plattsburgh, near the northern end of the lake. Thereupon Prevost abandoned his attempted invasion.

11. Defence of New Orleans.—By far the most important events of this war were those in the South. In the course of the summer of 1814 it became known that the British were meditating an attack on the Southern States, probably at the mouth of the Mississippi. The defence was entrusted to Jackson, fresh from his victory over the Creeks. He found that the British had established themselves at Pensacola, in the Spanish territory of Florida. Jackson himself took up his position at Mobile, on the coast of Alabama. The chief

defence of Mobile was Fort Bowyer, on a point commanding Mobile Bay. On the 12th of September the fort was attacked by the British both by sea and land, but was gallantly and successfully defended by Major Lawrence. Jackson sent a ship to its relief, but the captain, hearing a terrific explosion, came back and told Jackson that the fort had fallen. The explosion in reality was caused by the blowing up of a British ship which had been set on fire by the guns of the fort. After this success, Jackson marched upon Pensacola and seized it, considering that the Spaniards, by harbouring the British, had forfeited their rights as neutral. The British now proceeded to attack New Orleans. Some doubts seem to have been felt on each side how far the French-born Louisianians would be true to the American Union, of which they had lately become citizens. There seems to have been no ground for these suspicions, and the Louisianians were throughout loyal to their new Government. There was also the fear of a rising among the slaves. Moreover the American supply of arms was miserably insufficient; but the strong will and courage of Jackson overcame or lightened every difficulty. On the 24th of November the British fleet of fifty sail anchored off the mouth of the Mississippi. Two plans of attack were open to the British : to ascend the river and attack New Orleans by water, or to land the troops and march on the city. To do the former it would have been necessary to destroy the forts which guarded the river, or at least to silence their guns. This was considered too difficult, and the British commanders decided to attack by land. Accordingly, on the 21st of December the British troops disembarked. They were opposed by a fleet of small vessels, but the British gunboats beat these off, and the troops made good their landing. They were under the command of General Pakenham, a brother-in-law of the Duke of Wellington. He had shown

himself a brave soldier in the Peninsula, but had done nothing to prove his fitness for command where much skill and judgment were needed. He himself, with a considerable body of troops, did not arrive till some days after the landing of the first detachment. Till his coming the British troops, numbering about three thousand, were commanded by General Keane. At first the Americans were ignorant of the exact position of the enemy, but on the 23rd they learnt that the British army was within nine miles of the city. The news was brought by a young planter, whose house had been seized by the British troops. All the rest of the household had been captured, and but for his escape the city might have been surprised. Jackson then marched out, and an engagement followed. After a whole night's fighting, during which the British were much harassed by the fire of two vessels in the river, the Americans retired. Keane, it has been thought, ought then to have marched straight on the city. Few men however would have ventured on such a step in the absence of their superior officer. Moreover, Pakenham was expected to bring up large reinforcements, and Keane could not know that fresh troops were daily pouring into New Orleans and that Jackson's hopes were rising with every hour of delay. After this, Jackson stationed himself outside the city and threw up earthworks for its defence. Every man and horse that could be pressed into the service was employed. On the 25th Pakenham arrived, and three days later an unsuccessful attack was made on the American works. Here, as before, the two American ships in the river greatly annoyed the British troops, till one was sunk and the other driven off by the enemy's guns. On the 8th of January the British made their general attack. They numbered seven thousand three hundred, the Americans twelve thousand. Pakenham sent a detachment across the river to seize the forts on

that side, which would otherwise have annoyed his main body by a cross fire. This attempt was completely successful, but the main body was defeated with terrific loss, and Pakenham himself fell. Jackson did not attempt to follow up his victory, and, after a few skirmishes between the outposts, the British embarked and sailed off. Though the war was in reality over and peace signed when this battle was fought, yet the victory was of great importance to the Americans. It saved New Orleans, a rich and populous city, from the horrors of a sack. Coming also immediately after the Indian war, and contrasted with the American defeat at Washington, it begot an enthusiastic admiration for Jackson which laid the foundation of his great political influence.

12. **Treaty of Ghent.**—While this carnage was going on before New Orleans, the two nations were no longer at war. Commissioners from Great Britain and the United States had met at Ghent in July to discuss the terms of peace. These were easily arranged. Great Britain at first insisted that her right of impressing sailors on the high seas should be acknowledged by the Americans; America insisted that it should be formally renounced. Each at length gave way on this point, and the matter was left as before. The British gave up their conquests on the Canadian frontier, so that the boundaries remained as they had been before the war. The Americans refused to admit the Indians who were allied with the British to a share in the treaty, but at length promised not to molest them. On the 24th of December peace was signed; the terms of it are the best proof of the trivial grounds on which war was declared.

13. **The Cotton-gin and the Steam-boat.**—Two mechanical inventions, made in America about this time, deserve special notice from the important effects which they at once produced. One was the cotton-gin, invented in 1793 by Eli

Whitney of Massachusetts. This was a machine for separating the fibre of the cotton, the part used in manufacture, from the seeds. Hitherto this had been done by hand. Machinery had already been contrived in England for the making of cotton goods, but its full use was hindered by the cost of the raw material. Before Whitney's invention not a pound of cotton was exported from the United States. In 1794 a million and a half pounds were exported, and in the next year five and a quarter millions. The immediate effect of this in America was to call into life a new form of industry, cotton-planting. The warm swampy lands of the Southern States rose enormously in value, and at the same time the demand for slave labour was greatly increased. Soon after this, another invention was brought in, more wonderful than the cotton-gin, and far more remarkable in its effects on the whole world, though not perhaps on America. This was the steam-boat, which was introduced into America by Robert Fulton of Pennsylvania. The idea of the steam-boat had been thought of by others, but Fulton was the first who successfully carried it into practice. His first steam-boat was launched on the Hudson in 1807. The great immediate effect of this was to increase immensely the importance of the two main rivers of the United States, the Hudson and the Mississippi. The Mississippi became more than ever the great line of communication, binding together the Southern and Western States. Some twenty years earlier Franklin had put forth emphatically the value of the Mississippi to the United States, declaring that to ask them to part with it was like asking a man to sell his front door. The invention of the steam-boat gave double force to Franklin's words.

CHAPTER XXII.

SOUTH CAROLINA AND NULLIFICATION.

Monroe president (1)—John Quincy Adams president (2)—the fiftieth anniversary of independence (3)—election of Jackson (4)—nullification (5)—the bank question (6)—growth of the Whig party (7)—Van Buren president (8)—difficulties between America and Great Britain (9)—the Ashburton treaty (10)—new States (11).

1. **Monroe President.**—About this time the differences between the North and South began to make themselves felt. But as those differences and the conflicts that rose out of them, at least so far as they concerned slavery, form one connected chain of events ending in the War of Secession, it will be better to consider them separately, and to pass them over for the present, except when they are inseparably mixed up with the events of the day. In 1817 Madison was succeeded as President by another Democrat, Monroe. He was a man of no special power, who had served creditably in various public offices. He is best known by his assertion of what was called the Monroe doctrine of "America for the Americans." A rumour was afloat that the European powers intended to interfere to restore the authority of Spain in her revolted colonies in South America. Thereupon Monroe declared that he should consider any attempt on the part of European powers "to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety."

2. **John Quincy Adams President.**—In 1825, at the end of Monroe's second term of office, the Federals rallied sufficiently to carry their candidate, Adams, the son of the great Federal statesman. He was a highly-educated and thoughtful man,

too much so indeed to be a popular statesman. In his policy he walked in the footsteps of the old Federal leaders, of his father and Hamilton. He favoured the Northern merchants; he strengthened the navy, and supported improvements, roads, canals and the like, which the Democrats wished to leave to the various states. But the point on which the Democrats and Federals were most strongly opposed was the question of import duties. Originally the North was for Free Trade and the South for Protection. The former took this line from the belief that the shipping and carrying business would gain by free trade; the latter upheld protection because they were the chief producers and so wished to keep out foreign rivals. Accordingly, in 1816, Calhoun of South Carolina brought in and carried a bill imposing protective duties. But before long the Northerners found that they were the gainers by this. Their manufactures rapidly grew, and thus it became their interest to keep out foreign goods. At the same time the heavy import duties prevented the South from buying imported articles and forced them to depend for such on the North. Thus, when the question of lowering the duties was brought forward in 1828, the two parties had changed sides. The South under Calhoun were fighting for Free Trade, the North led by Daniel Webster of Massachusetts for Protection.

3. *The Fiftieth Anniversary of Independence.*—In 1826 the 4th of July was kept with great national rejoicings. It was marked by one of the most noticeable events in history, the death on that day of Jefferson and Adams, the two men who had drawn up the Declaration of Independence. Though for a while estranged, they had been reconciled and had for many years corresponded as friends. Adams's last words were "Thomas Jefferson yet survives." In reality when those words were spoken Jefferson had been dead a few hours. The death of those old men seemed a sort of omen for the

time to come. No President of the United States has been chosen since the election of John Quincy Adams, as were his father and Jefferson, as being the most cultivated and enlightened statesman of the day. He and all that went before him were men raised by training and social position above the ranks of the people ; all that have come since have been taken from the common run of citizens.

4. Election of Jackson.—In his second candidature Quincy Adams was opposed by General Jackson. The main issue between the two parties was the commercial one. The Federals, consisting mainly of Northern merchants, were for high protective duties ; the Democrats, whose strength lay among the Southern planters, for free trade. Jackson's chief claim to office was the popularity gained by his services in war. Over and above this, he showed a strength of will and a power of commanding men which, as we shall see, were perhaps more needful for a President just at this time than knowledge and culture. Hitherto however his force of character had shown itself chiefly in high-handed abuses of authority, which alone might have gone far to prove his unfitness for high office. After his defence of New Orleans, he had conducted a war against the Seminole Indians in the South. There he had set at nought the orders of his own Government ; he had seized Spanish towns without due authority, and had executed two British prisoners on the ground that they were intriguing with the Indians, but on evidence far too weak to justify such a measure. In 1824 he had been brought forward as the Democratic candidate and had been beaten by Adams. In 1828 they were again rival candidates, and this time Jackson was elected.

5. Nullification.—Like Jefferson, Jackson signalized his entry to office by a wholesale discharge of Government officials. True to the principles of his party, he reversed as far as possible Adams's measures for strengthening the navy and

for granting the aid of the Government to internal improvements. His term of office was marked by two great struggles. The most important of these was against the extreme members of his own, the Democratic or States Right party. In 1832 the import duties were lowered, but not enough to satisfy the South. South Carolina had always been the most active and independent of the Southern States. There, more than elsewhere, the planters regarded themselves as a separate and superior class, and looked down upon the traders of the North. In Calhoun, South Carolina found a leader well suited to her. He had been elected Vice-President under Jackson. His family came from Ireland, but had been for many years settled in America. He may be looked on as a type of all the best, and of many of the most dangerous, characteristics of the Southern planters. As a speaker, he was clear and forcible, though unpolished. But his influence lay not in his oratory, but in the intense earnestness of his convictions, his devotion to his own State, and the loftiness and purity of his private character. He believed firmly in slavery as a system of life, a form of industry, and above all as insuring the political ascendancy of the South. He held this belief like a religious creed, to which he clung with the unbounded devotion of a fanatic. Under his leadership, South Carolina called a Convention and refused to accept the tariff. This line of action was called Nullification, and was based on the doctrine that any state had a right in extreme cases to refuse to be bound by the enactments of the central Government. This was not the first case in which a state had shown such a tendency to disobedience. During the war of 1812, a Convention of Northern merchants, who were strongly opposed to the war and to the other measures of the Democratic Government, had met at Hartford in Connecticut, and had, it is said, discussed the possibility of separation. But the

affairs of the Hartford Convention were conducted with great secrecy and seem to have excited little alarm. It was not so with the hot-blooded planters of South Carolina. They were known to be making preparations for resistance, and it seemed for a while that civil war was at hand. Jackson's courage and promptitude, and the power which he had shown of striking swiftly and effectually with hastily-collected and ill-organized forces, now stood the Union in good stead. Southerner and Democrat though he was, he was as passionately attached to the cause of the Union as Calhoun was to that of his own state. Jackson publicly announced that the Union must be preserved at all hazards, and made preparations as for war. He was supported, not only by his own party, but by the Federals. Webster made in Congress one of his greatest speeches, in which he clearly pointed out that there was no alternative for any state between obedience and rebellion, and that to allow each state to decide how far it need obey the National Government was practically to destroy that Government. A conflict was prevented by a compromise. This was effected in a bill brought forward by Clay of Kentucky, providing that the import duties should be gradually reduced. This was finally carried. The supporters of it thought that any measure ought to be adopted which would remove the danger of civil war, and at the same time preserve the authority of the Constitution. Many of them too must have seen that the demands of South Carolina were in themselves reasonable, whatever might be said of the way in which they were urged. Others felt that, by yielding anything to threats, they would weaken the authority of the Constitution, and encourage like attempts in the future.

6. **The Bank Question.**—Jackson's other great struggle was against his natural opponents the Federals, and on behalf of Democratic principles. In 1832 the National Bank applied

for a renewal of its charter from Government. This was opposed in Congress. The Federals, headed by Webster, supported it, and it was carried; but the President refused his approval. The Bank retaliated by using its vast influence to prevent Jackson's re-election, but failed. Jackson then withdrew all the public moneys in it and transferred them to banks in the various States. The opposition to the Bank was based, partly on the old Democratic hostility to central institutions, partly on alleged mismanagement and corruption. These charges seem to have had some foundation, though they were probably exaggerated. The withdrawal of the public money and the refusal of a charter did not at once destroy the Bank, but they deprived it of its character as a public institution and led to its downfall.

7. *Growth of the Whig Party.*—About this time a new political party sprang up, calling themselves at first National Republicans and afterwards Whigs. As the latter name showed, they supported the Constitution as the safeguard of national liberty. The leaders of this party were Henry Clay and Daniel Webster. The former was the son of a Kentucky clergyman, the latter of a New England yeoman. Both were sprung from the middle class and rose into public life by their success as lawyers. Both were men of liberal mind and wide culture, and remarkable for sobriety of judgment. In eloquence, Webster has probably never been equalled by any of his countrymen, unless perhaps by Patrick Henry. Neither Clay nor Webster ever attained the Presidency, partly because the allegiance of the party was in a measure divided between them. Moreover, during their period of public life it was found necessary to select as candidates for the Presidency, not men of brilliant ability, but moderate and safe men, against whom no special objection could be urged by any one. Though Webster and the Whigs supported Jackson on the question of Nullification, yet on the

Bank Charter and other important matters they were opposed to him. In 1829 Van Buren, the Secretary of State, in a paper of instructions to the American minister in England, blamed the policy of Adams's government, and instructed the minister to disavow their proceedings in his dealings with the British cabinet. Webster held that this introduction of party politics into diplomacy would be injurious to the relations of America with other countries. The Senate supported this view, and when, in 1832, Jackson nominated Van Buren as minister to England, they took the serious step of refusing to sanction the appointment.

8. *Van Buren President.*—Jackson was succeeded by Van Buren, a Northern Democrat. He was a man of education, and his writings on American politics show that he understood the Constitution of his country far better than the generality of his party, better perhaps than any statesman of his day except Clay and Webster. But he was either wanting in energy and force of will, or unfortunate in having few opportunities of showing such qualities. He seems to have shrunk from the exercise of power, but, when forced to use it, to have done so with wisdom and dignity. During his term of office the Government was involved in considerable trouble with the Indians. For more than ten years measures had been going on for moving them westward. Hitherto the Indians had been merely savage enemies on the outskirts of the States; but now things took a new turn. They began to form settlements, which might fairly be called civilized, in territory which the United States claimed. Those settlements refused to acknowledge the authority of the United States, and so were likely to be a source of much trouble. The National Government therefore adopted the policy of buying up the lands and transferring the Indians to territories in the West. Such bargains must always be one-sided affairs, with craft on the one hand and ignorance on the other, and

quarrels soon broke out, leading to a number of detached wars. The most troublesome of these was with Jackson's old foes, the Seminoles, who held out in Florida under a brave chief named Osceola. They made themselves specially obnoxious to the Southern planters by receiving runaway slaves. At length Osceola was treacherously captured by his opponent, General Jessop, and resistance gradually died out. These wars cannot be regarded as of much importance. When once the Indians and the white settlers began to be mixed up together, and their territories to overlap and interlace, the fate of the Indians was sealed. Their only chance was to present an unbroken frontier of wild country tenanted only by savages. As soon as the traders could come among them, corrupting and dividing them, all possibility of united and effective resistance was at an end.

9. Difficulties between America and Great Britain.—In 1841 General Harrison, the Whig candidate, who had been defeated by Van Buren in 1837, was elected President. His claim to office rested entirely on his military services. His fitness for his position was never tested, as, after holding office for a month, he died. According to the provision of the Constitution he was succeeded by the Vice-President, John Tyler. The most important event of his Presidency was the settlement of certain threatening differences between America and Great Britain. For a long while there had been an unsettled question between the two countries as to the boundary of Nova Scotia. There were also more serious subjects of dispute. In 1840 an insurrection broke out in Canada. The insurgents were aided by a party of Americans. To check the latter some of the loyal Canadians crossed over to the American bank of the St. Lawrence and destroyed the *Caroline*, a vessel belonging to the friends of the insurgents. In the affray which followed, one Dufree, an American, was killed. For this Alexander Macleod, a British subject, was arrested

and it seemed at one time as if he was likely to be found guilty of murder and executed, a proceeding which the British Government must have resented. Fortunately he was acquitted. In 1842 an American vessel, the *Creole*, was sailing from Richmond to New Orleans with a cargo of slaves. The slaves rose, seized the vessel, and took her into the British port of New Providence in the West Indies. The authorities there assisted the slaves to escape. Thus each nation was furnished with a grievance against the other, and such ill-feeling resulted that serious fears of war were entertained.

10. **The Ashburton Treaty.**—Fortunately Webster, who was Tyler's Secretary of State, was liked and respected by British statesmen. In 1842 Lord Ashburton was sent out from England to negotiate a treaty. The main point to be settled was the boundary between Canada and the Northern States. The difficulty occurred which specially besets Federal Governments in their dealings with foreign nations, in the matter of territory. The question affected, not merely the whole American Union, but more especially the states of Maine and Massachusetts, to which the territory in dispute would belong. These states might reasonably suspect that their special interest would be sacrificed to those of the Union. At length the matter was settled by a compromise. Great Britain gave up the larger and more valuable share of the disputed territory, and the United States Government paid a sum of \$250,000 to the states of Maine and Massachusetts to make up the loss of the rest. Two other points of importance were settled by this treaty. One was the suppression of the slave-trade by the two Governments. This it will be better to deal with when we come to the whole question of slavery. The other was the mutual surrender of criminals. This was beset by some difficulty. The United States demanded that this arrangement should include fugitive slaves,

a point on which the British Government was resolved not to yield, or even to admit anything which could be afterwards twisted into a pretext for such dealings. At length Lord Ashburton was satisfied on this point, and the treaty was signed in June 1842. Both in England and America fault was found with the provisions of the treaty as going too much to the other side. Webster and the other defenders of the treaty reasonably enough appealed to this as a proof of its fairness.

II. **New States.**—During the period through which we have passed several new States had been added to the Union. Indiana and Michigan were formed out of the unappropriated western territory, Missouri and Arkansas out of the remainder of the French province of Louisiana, and Florida out of land ceded by Spain in 1820. Besides these, Territories had been formed in the west out of the lands gained from the Indians. In the North too a fresh state had come into existence, or rather an old state was renewed. As we have seen, the small colony of Maine was joined to Massachusetts by the charter of William and Mary. The inhabitants more than once expressed a wish to be again separate, and in 1820, with the consent of Massachusetts, Maine was formed into an independent state.

CHAPTER XXIII.

GROWING OPPOSITION BETWEEN THE NORTH AND SOUTH.

The slavery question (1)—the policy of the South (2)—the slave trade (3)—the annexation of Texas (4)—the Mexican war (5)—treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (6)—the dispute about Oregon (7)—difficulties about the newly-acquired lands (8)—the abolition movement (9)—the Dred Scott case (10)—the struggle for Kansas (11)—execution of John Brown (12).

I. The Slavery Question.—We must now go back somewhat to trace from its beginning the contest between the Northern and Southern States. This struggle turned on two points, Free Trade and Slavery. So far as Free Trade was concerned, we have already seen how matters stood. We have now to deal with that which proved in the long run a far more serious difficulty, Slavery. When the Constitution was drawn up, there seemed every prospect of slavery being gradually and peaceably extinguished. Some of the leading statesmen, notably Washington and Jefferson, themselves Virginian slave-holders, looked forward to abolition. It was provided by the Constitution that the importation of slaves should not be interfered with till 1808, and in that year it was made illegal. The first origin of the distinct struggle for and against slavery was the admission of new states to the Union. The five old Southern States, Maryland, Virginia, the two Carolinas, and Georgia, soon found themselves united in opposition to the North. Their habits and ideas, and above all their commercial interests, were different from those of the Northerners. Thus it was clearly to the interest of the South that the new states should also be slave states, and so be inclined to cast their lot in with it. Accordingly, when

Carolina and Georgia gave up to the Union those districts which afterwards became Tennessee and Alabama, they specially stipulated that Congress should not interfere with slavery in those Territories. As the Southerners favoured slavery on political grounds, so the Northerners opposed it. Thus, when in 1820 Missouri was admitted as a State, a fierce struggle ensued. The North demanded that slavery should be prohibited in Missouri; the South denied the right of Congress to impose any such restriction. At last an arrangement was made, known as the Missouri Compromise. Slavery was permitted in Missouri; but, to compensate the North, it was provided that slavery should henceforth be prohibited north of $36^{\circ} 30'$ north latitude.

2. *The Policy of the South.*—As we have seen, the number of representatives which each State sent to Congress was determined by the number of its inhabitants, and the slaves were reckoned, not in full, but at the rate of three-fifths. This gave the Southern States a distinct interest in increasing their number of slaves. Thus they learnt to look on slavery as the sheet-anchor of their political power. And as the differences between the North and South on matters of commerce and foreign policy grew wider, so much the more firmly did the South hold to slavery. In this, as in the matter of Free Trade, Calhoun was the great leader and representative of Southern opinion. The ascendancy of the South, and above all that of his own state, were the objects to which his whole life was devoted, and, as was but natural, he looked on slavery, the corner-stone of that ascendancy, with like devotion. In this contest the South enjoyed one great advantage. They were united; the North was not. The South were almost to a man Democrats. In the North, the most eminent men, and especially the New England merchants, were nearly all Federals; but there were many Northern Democrats who were allied with the South.

3. **The Slave Trade.**—In spite of the Southern anxiety for the spread of slavery, enough of the old feeling against it still remained for various measures to be passed against the slave trade. By the Treaty of Ghent both nations pledged themselves to oppose it. In 1820 it was declared by Congress to be piracy; and by the Ashburton treaty the two nations agreed to employ a joint squadron on the African coast to suppress it.

4. **The Annexation of Texas.**—We may now take up the general history where we left off, and trace those events which brought the contest between the North and South to a head. In 1821 Mexico threw off the yoke of Spain, and became an independent Republic. In 1827, and again in 1829, attempts were made by the United States to purchase from Mexico Texas, a fertile territory adjacent to the Southern States, and resembling the best parts of them. Mexico however refused to part with it. Soon afterwards a number of emigrants from the Southern States moved into Texas. In 1836 the inhabitants of Texas, headed by one Houston, a Virginian adventurer, rose against the Mexican Government. They defeated the forces sent against them, captured Santa Anna the President of Mexico, and forced from him an acknowledgment of their independence. They then formed Texas into a republic, with a constitution modelled on that of the United States, and made Houston president. In less than a year the people of Texas asked to be joined to the United States. Indeed it was generally believed that from the outset this had been the object of the Southern adventurers who went thither. The South were extremely anxious for their admission. The soil and climate of Texas fitted it for slave labour, and thus it was sure, if it were admitted and slavery allowed there, to swell the strength of the Slave States. All the ablest statesmen in the North were strongly opposed to its admission. They pointed out that

it would involve the nation in a war with Mexico, that it would strengthen the South unduly, and lead to disputes which might rend the Union asunder. Webster put forward these views strongly. Van Buren, a Democrat, and Clay, a Southerner, went with him. Calhoun, alone among statesmen of note, was in favour of annexation, avowedly as a means of strengthening the Slave States. Adams and a number of members of Congress drew up a protest, pointing out that all the proceedings about Texas had for "their objects the perpetuation of slavery and the continual ascendancy of the slave power," and going on to say that annexation would "not only result in a dissolution of the Union, but fully justify it." But the Democrats were bent on annexation. They refused to support Van Buren for the Presidency, and brought forward an obscure man named Polk, who opposed Clay and was elected. The Whigs then, seeing that annexation was certain, tried to lessen the evil by providing that in half the newly-acquired territory slavery should be prohibited. They failed however to carry this. It was finally arranged that Texas should be at once admitted, and four additional States gradually formed out of the newly-acquired land. As regarded slavery, the old line of the Missouri Compromise was to be observed, but as that was two hundred miles beyond the northernmost part of Texas the concession was of no value. Under these conditions, in 1845 Texas became one of the United States.

5. *The Mexican War.*—As might have been expected, Mexico did not sit down tamely under the loss of Texas. The United States Government, fearing some attempt to recover their new territory, garrisoned it with a small force. Their commander, General Taylor, was warned by the Mexican Government that, if he advanced beyond a certain boundary, the Rio Colorado, it would be taken as a declaration of war. He disregarded this warning, and the war

began. After some unimportant operations in the west, in which the Americans were easily victorious, Taylor took possession of the town of Matamoras. By June, 1846, his force was brought by fresh reinforcements up to six thousand. With this he marched on Monterey, a strong place, where the Mexicans had concentrated their forces to the number of ten thousand. After three days' hard fighting, Monterey fell. Taylor's force however was too much weakened for him to venture on an advance. In July 1847 Santa Anna, the President of Mexico, marched against Taylor with twenty thousand men. Taylor, with five thousand men, advanced to meet him. The Mexicans made the first attack at Buena Vista. Partly through Taylor's accidental absence, the Americans were for a while thrown into confusion, but upon his return they rallied. The battle was indecisive, but next morning the Mexicans withdrew. In the meantime another army had invaded Mexico in the west, and had conquered California with scarcely any difficulty, except what arose from the nature of the country. In the spring of this year an invading force of twelve thousand men sailed under General Scott, the American commander-in-chief. On the 9th of March they reached Vera Cruz. This place was very strongly fortified, but in every other respect wretchedly unprovided with means of resistance. The Americans were allowed to land unresisted; they threw up earthworks and opened fire on the place from sea and land. After four days bombardment, to which the besieged made no attempt to reply, the place surrendered. Scott then marched inland and defeated Santa Anna, who had taken a strong position at Sierra Gordo. The Americans then advanced unchecked within fifteen miles of the city of Mexico. Here serious operations really began. At the time of the Spanish conquest the city of Mexico was surrounded by a lake. This was drained by Cortez, and the city consequently now stood in

the middle of a valley. The approaches to it were guarded by a number of strong fortresses, and a canal forming a moat belted the city. One by one these outlying fortifications were captured, and on the 14th of September the American army fought its way into the capital. After this the Mexicans made no further resistance. From a military point of view, the chief importance of the war was the education which it gave to the American officers, especially in the art of marching troops through an enemy's country cut off from their own basis. The most distinguished officers in the great Northern and Southern war had learned their business in Mexico, and such marches, daringly planned and successfully carried out, were among its most conspicuous features.

6. **Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.**—On the 2nd of February, 1848, peace was signed at Guadalupe Hidalgo. Mexico resigned her claim to Texas, and also handed over New Mexico and California to the United States for a payment of 15,000,000 dollars. By far the most important part of the acquisition was California. This gave the United States the Pacific as well as the Atlantic seaboard. In fact, it may be looked on as, in some sort, the completion of that great westward movement which had been going on during the whole of this century. The possession of California made it certain that the American people, though perhaps not under a single government, must in time form one continuous community across the whole continent of America.

7. **The Dispute about Oregon.**—The only other noticeable feature in Polk's Presidency was the dispute with Great Britain as to the north-west boundary between the British possessions and a district belonging to the United States called Oregon. Polk and the Democratic party laid claim, without a shadow of foundation, to territory which twenty-five years earlier had been universally recognized as British. So resolutely was this claim urged that there seemed at one

time danger of war. Webster however, with the same anxiety to preserve peace which had guided him in framing the Ashburton treaty, opposed the Democrats. For this he was bitterly denounced as having, both in this case and in the Ashburton treaty, betrayed his country. But the claims put forward by the Democrats were so clearly untenable that they were abandoned, and the boundary proposed by Webster was adopted. In 1848 this north-west district was formed into a Territory with the name of Oregon, and five years later a fresh Territory was taken out of it, called Washington.

8. *Difficulties about the newly-acquired Lands.*—In 1849 Polk was succeeded by General Taylor, who died on the 9th of July following. His successor, Vice-President Fillmore, was a well-meaning and fairly sensible man, but unfit for the difficult times in which his lot was cast. The forebodings of Webster and the other Northern statesmen as to the result of the increase of territory was soon fulfilled. California claimed to be admitted as a State, and the newly-acquired districts were to be settled as Territories. The question then arose whether slavery was to be permitted in these districts. It seemed at first that, if they were left to themselves, slave labour would prevail there, as their natural character was suited to that system. But the gold discoveries in California had drawn thither numbers of free workmen. Consequently it was clear that, if it was left to the majority of the inhabitants to settle the question, they were sure to vote against slavery. There were various circumstances which made the South specially anxious that slavery should be admitted into California. They believed that, once admitted, it would become prevalent, and that California would be added to the number of Slave States. Moreover the hostility to slavery was growing stronger in the North. The Northern States were showing themselves backward in helping the

South to recover runaway slaves. Moreover two Free States, Wisconsin and Iowa, had been lately added to the Union, and the Slave States were anxious to recover the influence which they had thus lost. Hitherto they had taken up the ground that slavery was a question to be dealt with by each state for itself. Now they changed their ground, and declared that it was unjust to allow the Government of any State or Territory to prevent any citizen of the United States from emigrating with his property, that is to say his slaves, into the newly-acquired lands. The contest began in 1846, while the acquisition of the land in question was still doubtful. In that year David Wilmot of Pennsylvania brought forward a motion, providing that slavery should be excluded from all Territories acquired by treaty. This, commonly called the Wilmot Proviso, was carried in the House of Representatives, but defeated in the Senate. Next year it was again proposed with a like result. Calhoun met this by a series of resolutions, declaring that any such measure would deprive the slave-holding states of their rights, and would tend to subvert the Union. So fierce did the strife become that many of the most thoughtful statesmen began to fear separation or civil war. In this crisis Clay, now a man of seventy-two and in broken health, came forward as a peace-maker. Like Webster, who now supported him, Clay had always held a moderate position between the two extreme parties. His proposal was that the question of slavery in California and in the new Territories should be left to the local Governments. This was a concession to the South in the matter of Territories, to the North in the matter of California. He also proposed that the inland slave-trade should be abolished in the district of Columbia, but that provision should be made for the stricter enforcement of the law for recovering runaway slaves in free states. The success of this scheme, called Clay's Omnibus Bill,

was in a great measure due to the support of Webster, who, in one of his most eloquent speeches, pointed out the danger of separation. During this struggle the South lost its great leader, Calhoun, who died at the age of sixty-eight.

9. *The Abolition Movement.*—Fillmore was succeeded as President by Pierce, a man much of the same stamp as Polk. His Presidency was conspicuous for a number of petty quarrels with foreign nations. He and his cabinet contrived to embroil the United States with Great Britain, Denmark, Spain, Brazil, Paraguay, and the Sandwich Islands. In internal politics there was a lull. Clay's bill had brought peace, but only for a while. A great change had gradually come over both North and South in the matter of slavery. In the beginning of the century the feeling about slavery had been much the same in the North and South. Both regarded it as morally evil, and looked forward to a time when it should die out. Indeed there seems to have been a stronger feeling against it among the Southern planters, who knew its evils, than among the Northern merchants. As late as 1831 and 1832 the Assembly of Virginia discussed the question of extinguishing slavery. But gradually this feeling changed. Slavery was the keystone on which the political power of the South rested; and they came to value it, and we may almost say to love it, for its own sake. So far from regarding it as an evil to be gradually extinguished, they openly defended it as the only proper and wholesome form of society, and anyone in the South who ventured to speak against slavery was in danger of his life. On the other hand, a strong feeling had been growing up in the North against slavery. A small but active party had sprung up, called Abolitionists, who denounced slavery, and published books setting forth its evils, and telling stories, some no doubt false and exaggerated, but many certainly true, of the horrible cruelties perpetrated by Southern

slave-holders. At first this party was almost as unpopular in the North as in the South, and the publisher of the first Abolition newspaper, William Garrison, was nearly pulled to pieces by a New York mob. Gradually however the Abolition party gained numbers and influence, and ventured to put forward the doctrine that Congress ought to suppress slavery. Moreover they assisted slaves to escape, thereby breaking the fugitive-slave law. When we consider what sufferings the re-capture of a runaway often brought with it, it is hard to blame men for resisting it and breaking a law which they believed to be unjust. Yet, considering how important it was not to irritate the South, or to give them any just ground for complaint, such doings were to be regretted. Many leading Northern statesmen felt this. They believed that slavery would gradually die out of itself, that the Abolitionists were only infuriating the South and hardening it in its support of slavery, and that the only effect of their efforts would be to break up the Union. In 1846 a political party sprang up called Free-soilers, who opposed slavery, but by constitutional means, namely, by supporting the Wilmot Proviso. This party put forward Van Buren as its candidate at the Presidential election in 1849, but was defeated. Before long they played a very important part in American history.

10. *The Dred Scott case*.—In 1857 an event occurred, which strengthened the Northern feeling against slavery. A case was tried on appeal before the Supreme Court, concerning the freedom of a negro, Dred Scott. Chief Justice Taney's decision was understood to lay down the following rules :—I. That negroes, although free, could only be citizens of some one particular State, but not of the Union, and so could not enjoy any of the rights secured by the United States constitution. II. That Congress had no power to forbid slavery in any Territory. III. That slaves, if bought

in Slave States, could then be moved to Free States and still remain slaves. This judgment made the Abolitionists feel that the pressure of slavery was far more severe, and the task of abolition far more difficult, than they had thought.

11. *The Struggle for Kansas.*—In 1854 the Missouri Compromise was repealed. This left every state free to take its own course about slavery. The result was that, when Kansas was admitted as a state, it became a battle-ground for the two parties. The North wished that a majority of the inhabitants should be against slavery ; the South for it. Each kept pouring in fresh emigrants to outnumber the other. At first the South was successful, and a code of laws was established with many and stringent provisions on behalf of slavery. This was brought about, it is said, not by legitimate emigrants, but by a mob of low Southerners, with no occupation and no real connexion with Kansas, who passed across the border, took possession of the polling places, and carried the elections against the real citizens. A succession of outrages, amounting almost to a civil war on a small scale, followed. At last, however, the party from the North was successful, and Kansas was definitely settled as a free state.

12. *Execution of John Brown.*—Pierce was succeeded in 1857 by Buchanan. Of all the American Presidents he seems to have been the most utterly unfit for his place. The main events of his Presidency will be better mentioned when we come to deal with the war. One however may be noticed now, as it stands by itself and has no direct connexion with the political proceedings of the time. That was the execution of John Brown. He was a New Englander, descended from the original Puritan settlers. His four sons were among the Northerners who fought to keep slavery out of Kansas. Not content with joining and helping them, he led a sort of crusade against slavery into the South. He was attacked at

Harper's Ferry in Virginia by the United States troops, as well as by the State militia. After a desperate fight, in which most of his followers were killed, he was himself taken and hanged. His attempt was lawless, and, considering the time and the temper of the South, it was unwise. Yet he deserves the credit due to all who lay down their lives in a hopeless struggle for what they believe to be right and just.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY.

Election of Lincoln (1)—South Carolina secedes (2)—outbreak of hostilities (3)—formation of the Southern Confederacy (4)—preparations for war (5)—inauguration of Lincoln (6)—bombardment of Fort Sumter (7)—proclamation of war and blockade of the southern ports (8)—secession of Virginia and the remaining southern states (9).

I. Election of Lincoln.—The contest for the election of Buchanan's successor was marked by a new subdivision of parties. The Democrats and Republicans were each split into two divisions. The main issue on which the Democrats separated was that of allowing each Territory to settle for itself whether slavery should be permitted within it. The Southern Democrats held that this was an unfair interference with the rights of slaveholders. Moreover this section of the Democratic party showed signs of favouring the re-establishment of the African slave-trade. On these points the Northern and Southern Democrats separated. The former brought forward, as their candidate for the Presidency, Douglas of Illinois, who had gone over from the Republicans to the Democrats. He was able and eloquent, but his

personal character and his change of party made him distrusted. The extreme Democrats, chiefly the Southerners, brought forward Breckenridge of Kentucky, who was serving as Vice-President under Buchanan. The Republicans, like the Democrats, were divided. The old Whigs, the followers of Webster, under the name of the Constitutional Union party, brought forward Bell of Tennessee as their candidate. The main body of the Republicans supported Abraham Lincoln. He had been born in Kentucky and brought up in Indiana. His father was a poor man of unsettled habits, with no regular occupation. The son, Abraham, emigrated when young to Illinois. Rapid change of business and a mixture of occupations, which would seem ludicrous or impossible in an old country, is a characteristic of the United States, and especially of the west. Abraham Lincoln, before he was thirty, had been a boatman, a sailmaker, a shopkeeper, and a lawyer. Besides this, he had fought in the Black Hawk war, and had sat in the legislature of Illinois. In some respects he may be compared with Patrick Henry. Both were men of humble origin, rough and uncultivated in manner, and with little outward show of the qualities which ensure worldly success. In both, political conflict called forth powers of which their every-day life gave no promise. Both owed their success as speakers, not to culture or learning, but to the earnestness of their convictions and the native vigour of their minds. But Lincoln had none of that brilliancy of imagination and vivid strength of speech which made Henry the foremost orator among the statesmen of the Revolution. On the other hand, he far surpassed Henry in worldly wisdom, in self-control and patience, and in the art of availing himself of the weaknesses of others and making them the instruments of his own success. In 1846 Lincoln was elected representative for Illinois, and before long he became known as a rising statesman. He was pro-

posed unsuccessfully as Vice-President in 1855, and in 1860 was brought forward as the Republican candidate for the Presidency. Though not a professed Abolitionist, he was more in harmony with the Abolition party than any of the other three candidates. From the outset of his public life, Lincoln had been careful not to pledge himself too strictly to any one party. In the matter of slavery he had been especially cautious. He clearly saw the difficulties which beset any scheme for freeing the negroes, but his sympathies were in a great measure with the Abolitionists. Some of them were his dearest friends and most influential advisers. When in Congress, he had supported the Wilmot proviso, and had himself brought forward a Bill for gradually freeing the slaves in the district of Columbia. He had repeatedly denounced the evils of slavery, though, like many other wise men, he confessed himself unable to overcome the difficulties in the way of abolition. He and his supporters now declared that Congress ought to forbid the introduction of slavery into the Territories, and on this point lay the main issue between himself and his opponents. Thus he rallied round him all the anti-slavery feeling in the North, both that of the extreme Abolitionists and of those who were for opposing slavery by more moderate means.

2. *South Carolina Secedes.*—In November, 1860, Lincoln was elected President. The Southern Democrats at once felt that their political ascendancy was doomed. Many of them had declared before the election that the South would quit the Union if defeated. Ever since the days of Nullification, South Carolina had taken the lead among the Southern States. Nowhere was the passion for slavery so strong; nowhere did the Southern planters view the Northern merchants with so much hatred and contempt. Besides, the position of South Carolina inclined her to take the lead in secession. She could not be reached from the North except

through other slave-holding States—Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina. They would be at once compelled either to assist in subduing her or to join her; neutrality would be impossible, and the South Carolinians did not doubt which side their neighbours would take. On December the 17th, six weeks after Lincoln's election, a Convention of the State of South Carolina met at Charleston, and formally repealed their acceptance of the United States' Constitution in 1788. The event was celebrated with public rejoicings; cannon were fired, and a procession was made to the grave of Calhoun. A South Carolina newspaper, by way of asserting the complete severance of the Union, published news from the other States under the head of "Foreign Intelligence."

3. **Outbreak of Hostilities.**—In name and form the proceeding of South Carolina was a peaceful one. The Convention sent commissioners to Washington to arrange the transfer of the forts, arms, and other property of the Federal Government within the State of South Carolina. It was agreed by the commissioners and the Government at Washington that, while those arrangements were being discussed, no hostile action should be taken on either side. In spite of this agreement, hostilities broke out. Major Anderson held Fort Moultrie, one of the smaller works in Charleston harbour, with a garrison of seventy men, for the Federal Government. He asked for a reinforcement, but Floyd, the Secretary of War, refused it, on the ground that to grant it would enrage the secessionists. Anderson then spiked his guns, carried off his stores, and moved into Fort Sumter, a stronger work, also in Charleston harbour. This act was held by the South Carolinians and their supporters to be a breach of faith. Floyd recommended the withdrawal of the garrison, and, when this was not carried out, he resigned. The commissioners refused to carry on further negotiations till the garrison was withdrawn. Buchanan gave a hesitating

answer, saying that the acknowledgment of the independence of South Carolina was a question for the Congress, not for the President, and refusing either to approve of or condemn Anderson's proceedings. The commissioners answered this with an insolent letter, denouncing Anderson's conduct, and railing at Buchanan for not condemning him and withdrawing the garrison. Buchanan, with the approval of his cabinet, refused to consider the letter, and the commissioners went home. On January the 5th, the Federal Government at last took active measures. A steamer, the *Star of the West*, was sent to Fort Sumter with reinforcements and munitions. The State Government of South Carolina was warned of this by Harper of Mississippi, a member of Buchanan's cabinet. They made preparations for the arrival of the ship and fired upon her. Being without cannon, she made no attempt to resist, and sailed home.

4. *Formation of the Southern Confederacy.*—The state of the Government at Washington favoured the enterprise of the secessionists. The result of a presidential election is known as soon as the electors are chosen in the various States. But the new President does not come into office for some months afterwards. Thus, although Lincoln was practically elected in November 1860, he was not formally "inaugurated" till March 1861. Even with a strong Government, there is always a danger that the party whose term of power is about to expire will be inattentive to the public welfare, and that its hands will be weakened by the certainty of its approaching end. Buchanan's Government, always feeble, was utterly powerless at this crisis. Had a man like Andrew Jackson been in power, secession might have been crushed in its very outset. Buchanan only addressed a message to Congress which recognized the grievances of the South in the matter of slavery, but made no attempt to grapple with the difficulties of the case. In Congress, South Carolina

found influential supporters. Jefferson Davis of Mississippi proposed in the Senate that any State should have the right to demand the withdrawal of all Federal troops from its territory. Mason of Virginia also proposed that the laws empowering the Senate to employ the army and navy for enforcing the laws in any State should be suspended in South Carolina. Sympathy with South Carolina soon showed itself even more strongly. Early in February, 1861, a convention of six States, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Florida, was held at Montgomery in Alabama. A Federal Constitution was drawn up for these six States, modelled on the Constitution of the United States. The main difference was that the President was chosen for six years, and could not be re-elected, and that some portion of his power of appointing government officials was transferred to the Senate. Jefferson Davis, a man of ability and high personal character, was chosen President, and Alexander Stephens of Georgia Vice-President. The latter upon his entry to office made a remarkable speech, setting forth that slavery was to be the corner-stone of the new Confederacy, and that this was the first Government which had recognized and acted upon the principle that the inferior races were intended by God and nature to be in bondage to the superior. The Middle States were invited to join the new Confederacy.

5. Preparations for War.—Neither side seem at the outset to have foreseen the results of secession. The Northerners had heard the threat of separation so often, that they had at last come to look upon it as no more than a threat, made to extort political concessions. The South, on the other hand, emboldened by Buchanan's weakness and trusting to their alliance with the northern Democrats, seem to have anticipated little or no resistance. They utterly underrated the iron will and set purpose of their new ruler, the growing

hatred to slavery, and, above all, the passionate love of the North for the Union and their fixed determination not to suffer it to be broken up. Yet the South did not so far reckon on the forbearance of their opponents as to neglect preparations for defence. For some time before South Carolina seceded, the Southerners in the employment of Government had been laying their plans to cripple the action and undermine the resources of the Federal Government. Foremost in this policy was Floyd of Virginia, the Secretary of War. He had transferred more than a hundred thousand muskets and rifles from Northern arsenals to the South. He had also placed a large portion of the army under the command of General Twigg, who handed over his forces and stores, with more than a million of dollars from the national funds, to the secessionists. The same policy was adopted with the navy. Ships were sent off to distant stations, and many of those that remained were carried over by their commanders to the side of the South. Whatever we may think of the right of the South to secede, nothing can justify or palliate the conduct of men like Floyd. They deliberately used the opportunities which their official position gave them to destroy the power of the Government which they served. Meanwhile Buchanan, paralysed by the treachery of his cabinet, by the contempt with which all parties alike looked on him, and, it is said, by the fear of assassination, remained utterly helpless and inactive. Whatever might be the right policy, Buchanan's was certainly wrong. If the Southern States were to be kept within the Union, every step should have been at once taken to check the growth of their military power, and reclaim them either by persuasion or force. If the North was quietly to acquiesce in secession, measures should have been taken at once for a friendly and peaceful separation. Yet Buchanan's conduct was only that of a weak and irresolute man in a position far beyond his powers. The

real blame lay, not with him, but with the political system which had made such a man the ruler of a great nation. Part of the evil too was due to the arrangement which leaves public affairs in the hands of a party after the nation has shown by the presidential election that that party no longer enjoys its confidence or represents its views.

6. **Inauguration of Lincoln.**—On March the 4th, 1861, Lincoln formally entered on office. His opening address was disfigured by the flowing and meaningless rhetoric which is too common among modern American statesmen. But it spoke out clearly and unhesitatingly on the one great subject, the preservation of the Union. Secession, he said, meant rebellion, and to acknowledge the right of any State to secede was to destroy the central Government and to introduce anarchy. The Constitution, he said, must be enforced throughout the States, peacefully, if it might be, but, if needful, by force. On the subject of slavery, he announced that he had neither the wish nor the right to meddle with it where it already existed. By this he clearly separated himself from the thoroughgoing Abolitionists.

7. **Bombardment of Fort Sumter.**—The South soon took active measures for resistance. Volunteer forces were assembled at Charleston and at Pensacola in Florida. The force at Charleston was placed under the command of Beauregard, a Louisianian of French descent, who distinguished himself throughout the war by his activity and enterprise. He at once erected batteries at Fort Sumter. In March, commissioners from the new Confederacy came to Washington to demand an audience of the President. This was refused, and Seward, the Secretary of State, who at this time was the most influential member of the cabinet, told them that he could not recognize them as holding any official position. They answered that the refusal of an audience was practically a declaration of war, and that they received it as

such. This was immediately followed by an attack on Fort Sumter. The guns of the Fort were ill-placed and its supplies insufficient. After three days' resistance, Anderson surrendered, without the loss of a single life on either side.

8. *Proclamation of War and Blockade of the Southern Ports.*—The fall of Fort Sumter was the signal for action on the part of the North. Lincoln issued a proclamation declaring that the seceding States were obstructing the execution of the laws; that the ordinary forms of procedure were insufficient for the occasion, and that he had called out the militia to suppress the unlawful combinations existing in the South. Troops were brought down from the North for the defence of Washington. The feeling of the Marylanders was shown by the conduct of a mob, who attacked the soldiers during their passage through Baltimore and killed some of them. The establishment of these troops at Washington cut off Maryland from the other Southern States, and withheld her from following her natural bent, and joining the new Confederacy. The proclamation calling out the militia was quickly followed by another, declaring the Southern ports to be in a state of blockade. This was in one way a mistake on the part of the Federal Government. By a rule of International Law, a government cannot blockade its own ports, but only those of a foreign enemy. Thus the blockade was an admission by the North of the point for which the South contended, namely, that it was entitled to be treated as a separate and independent power.

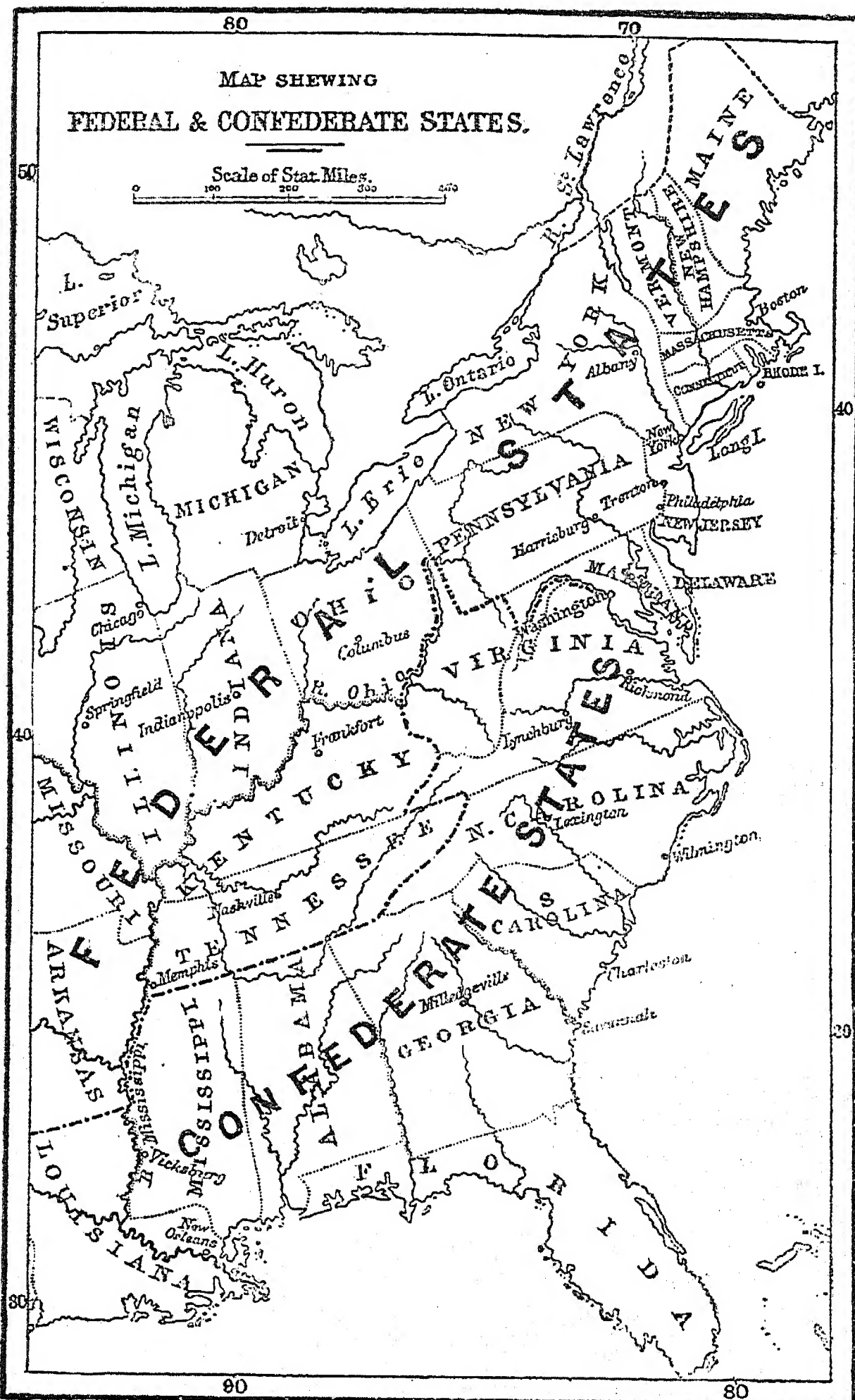
9. *Secession of Virginia and the remaining Southern States.*—So far it was uncertain what line of policy Virginia would adopt. Clearly she could not remain neutral. By refusing to help the Federal Government she would practically make herself a party to secession. Her interests and her sympathies seemed to draw her both ways. She was a slaveholding State, and so far her interests lay with the

South. But she had never thrown herself into the cause of slavery with the same passionate earnestness as South Carolina, nor had she ever shown the same bitter enmity to the North. Her commercial interests too were not wholly the same as those of the South. A large portion of her resources was derived from the breeding and rearing of negro slaves, and the re-opening of the African slave-trade, as advocated by the South, would have been a heavy blow to her prosperity. Moreover the native State of Washington and Jefferson and Madison could not but be loth to quit that Union in whose creation she had so large a share. Still she had ever clung to the doctrine of State rights. That view now prevailed, and the State Convention decided, albeit against the wishes of a large minority, to join the Southern Confederacy. Even if we blame South Carolina, or the Southern States generally, for Virginia we can feel nothing but pity. On no State did the burthen of the war fall so heavily. Yet she was not responsible for secession itself, and only in part for those events which led to it. Compelled to choose a side in a war which she had not kindled, she reluctantly took that towards which her natural sympathies inclined her, and which her political training taught her to believe was in the right. The example of Virginia was soon followed by Arkansas, North Carolina, and Tennessee. In July the seat of the new Government was fixed at Richmond. The members of the new Confederacy were known as Confederates; the inhabitants of the Northern States who held by the old Constitutions, as Federals. There is no special meaning in the distinction. It arose from the fact that Federal had always been the name for central institutions, as distinguished from those belonging to the different States, and that the party who had opposed the extreme doctrine of State rights in the early days of the Constitution were called Federalists.

MAP SHEWING
FEDERAL & CONFEDERATE STATES.

Scale of Stat. Miles.

0 100 200 300 400



CHAPTER XXV.

THE WAR OF SECESSION.

Resources of each side (1)—seizure of the Federal arsenals and dock-yards (2)—defence of Washington (3)—the war from a military point of view (4)—battle of Bull Run (5)—affairs in Western Virginia (6)—operations on the Upper Mississippi (7)—the battle of Shiloh (8)—capture of New Orleans (9)—Federal attack on Vicksburg (10)—the “Merrimac” and “Monitor” (11)—dealings with foreign nations (12)—McClellan’s campaign in Virginia (13)—Pope’s campaign in Virginia (14)—operations in the west in the autumn of 1862 (15)—Bragg’s invasion of Kentucky (16)—Lee’s first invasion of Maryland (17)—Lincoln emancipates the slaves (18)—battle of Chancellorsville (19)—Lee’s second invasion of Maryland (20)—capture of Vicksburg (21)—campaign of Chattanooga (22)—the conscription and the riots of New York (23)—naval operations (24)—Grant’s plan of campaign (25)—Sherman’s invasion of the south-west (26)—Hood’s defeat (27)—the battles in the wilderness (28)—Early’s sortie (29)—re-election of Lincoln (30)—fall of Richmond (31)—Surrender of the Confederate armies (32)—death of Lincoln and end of the war (33)—reconstruction of the union (34)

1. **Resources of each Side.**—It may be well, before going further, to give some idea of the means and prospects with which each party entered on the war. As far as mere military resources went, there was no very wide difference. The advantage which the Federal Government ought to have enjoyed from the possession of the national arsenals and stores was in a great measure lost, owing to the treachery of those Southerners who had held public offices. Neither side was at first well off for skilled officers. On the other hand, both in the North and South the absence of aristocratic exclusive-

ness allowed the best men to come quickly to the front. Thus the armies on both sides were soon led by men of ability, while there was a great want of soldierly skill and knowledge among the subalterns. In many ways the South furnished better raw material for soldiers than the North. The Southern planters were more given to outdoor pursuits, to field sports and the like, than the town-bred merchants of the North. Good horses and skilful riders were plentiful, and the cavalry of the South was one of its most efficient supports. Above all, the South was united. It is sometimes said that secession was not the unanimous act of the South, and that a large majority was either beguiled or coerced into a movement which they condemned. But throughout the war, no such division of feeling showed itself, save in Virginia. There was no such unanimity in the North, at least at the outset of the war. Many actually sympathized with the South, and thought the attempt to detain her unjust; many were indifferent. Jobbery and dishonesty of every kind were rife in the Government offices. As the war went on, all this was greatly lessened, and there grew up in the North a resolute determination to preserve the Union at any cost. But, from the very outset of the war, there were three great points of superiority which in the long run turned the scale in favour of the North. Her free population was far more numerous, and could bear the strain of a destructive war, while her opponent was becoming exhausted. The South too had no manufactures of her own. She had learned to depend entirely on Northern productions, and the loss of them struck a heavy blow at her resources. Lastly, the North had command of the sea. A navy cannot, like an army, be created at a few months' notice, and the vast superiority of the North in wealth, in harbours, and in materials for shipbuilding, gave her in this matter an immense advantage. It enabled the North to recruit her armies with supplies of emigrants drawn

from Europe, while the South, with her whole coast blockaded, could not fill the gaps which every campaign made in her population.

2. *Seizure of the Federal Arsenals and Dockyards.*—Owing to the feeble policy of Buchanan's government, the Confederates were allowed to possess themselves of every national fort and dockyard south of the Chesapeake Bay, save Fort Sumter, and Forts Keywest and Pickens off the coast of Florida. The secession of Virginia led to further enterprises of the same kind. The arsenal at Harper's Ferry was seized, but the officers in charge had destroyed the greater part of the stores before evacuating the place. The two most important Federal possessions within Virginia were Fort Monroe and the Navy-yard at Norfolk. The latter contained two thousand cannon, a quarter of a million pounds of powder, large quantities of shot and shell, and twelve ships of war. A force of about five hundred militia, with ten small field-pieces, threatened the place. Captain M'Cauley, the officer in charge, although he had a force of a thousand men, did not attempt to resist, but scuttled the ships, made an ineffectual attempt to sink the guns, and abandoned the place, leaving the works and a large quantity of stores to fall into the hands of the Confederates. An inquiry was ordered by Congress, and a committee of the Senate decided that both Buchanan's and Lincoln's administrations were to blame for neglecting the proper defence of the place, and that Captain M'Cauley was highly censurable for not attempting to hold it. Fort Monroe was a work of great size and strength commanding the Chesapeake Bay and James River. It was thought that the Virginians might by a prompt attack have seized it, and have dealt the Federal Government a heavier blow than it had yet sustained. But the opportunity was allowed to pass, and in May the place was garrisoned with twelve thousand men.

3. **Defence of Washington.**—Early in 1861 rumours were afloat that the secessionists meant to seize the seat of Government. This danger was greatly increased by the secession of Virginia. Troops however were hurried down from the North in sufficient numbers to guard against any surprise. When the war openly broke out, it was clear that Washington, separated as it was from Virginia only by the Potomac, was one of the most vulnerable points in the Northern territory. Accordingly the defence of the capital became the first object with the Federal Government. Earthworks were thrown up in the neighbouring heights, and troops were posted across the Potomac to cover the city.

4. **The War from a Military Point of View.**—Before entering on the detailed history of the war, it will be well to get a general idea of the military position of both parties, and of their main objects. The object of the South was, of course, merely defensive. Her territory may be looked on as a vast fortress bounded by the Potomac, the Ohio, the Mississippi, and the Atlantic. Her armies did indeed, more than once, penetrate into the Northern territory. But such measures were merely like the sorties of a besieged garrison, intended to draw off or weaken the assailants, and had no permanent occupation or conquest in view. Four main lines of attack lay open to the Federals:—1. An invasion of Virginia from the north. 2. An invasion of Tennessee to the south-west of the Alleghanies. 3. An attack from the sea-coast. 4. An invasion from the south-west, after they had obtained the control of the Mississippi. As the war showed, the real points on which the military strength of the Confederacy turned were the possession of the Mississippi and of those lines of railway which connected the south-western States with the coast. By mastering the Mississippi, the Federals would cut off their enemies from the rich States to the south of the river, besides interfering with the communication between the west and the sea.

Possession of the Mississippi might be obtained either from the sea, or from the west, or by a combined attack in both directions. By bearing in mind these general features of the war, operations, spreading over many thousand miles, and seemingly unconnected, are at once seen to form part of one distinct scheme of attack and defence. One very interesting feature of the war in a military point of view is that it was the first in which railways had ever played an important part. The effect of this was to lessen the advantage of superior numbers, as a small body of troops, dexterously handled, might be rapidly moved from point to point, and used successively against different portions of the enemy's force. This was of especial value to an army acting in its own country against invaders.

5. *Battle of Bull Run.*—In July, the Northern and Southern armies confronted one another on the south side of the Potomac. The Southern army numbered about thirty thousand men, under Beauregard. The Northerners mustered forty thousand, under McDowell. His troops were ill-drilled and unsoldierly, and his officers inexperienced, but, as many of his men were enlisted only for three months, it was needful to do something at once, and accordingly he advanced. Both armies were in two divisions, the main force to the east, while two bodies of about eight thousand each, the Federals under Patterson, the Confederates under Johnston, faced each other about fifty miles further west. The two divisions of the Confederates enjoyed the great advantage of being connected by a line of railway. McDowell's plan was that Patterson should keep Johnston in check, while he himself attacked Beauregard. But this plan was thwarted by the difficulty which we have so often met with before in American history. The Pennsylvanian volunteers under Patterson refused to serve for a day longer than their engagement bound them. Patterson was obliged to withdraw,

leaving McDowell to cope single-handed with Johnston and Beauregard. Johnston at once hurried, with all the troops he could bring up, to the assistance of the main body. On the morning of July the 21st, McDowell fell upon the right of the Confederate line, and drove them back. The Federal advance was stopped only by the Virginian troops under General Jackson. "There's Jackson standing like a stone wall," cried the Southern General Bee, to encourage his men, and "Stonewall Jackson" was the name by which the Virginian commander was ever after known. This check on the Federal right was soon turned into a repulse along the whole line. At the very crisis of the battle, the remainder of Johnston's force came up from the west, fell upon the Federal right, and rendered the victory complete. With undisciplined troops, however brave they may be, a defeat is almost sure to become a rout, and the Federals fled from the field a panic-stricken mob, without a semblance of order or discipline. From a military point of view the result was of no great importance. The Federal loss was not more than three thousand in all, and their enemies gained no advantage of position. The real value of victory to the South was the confidence and enthusiasm which was called out by so complete a triumph at the very outset of the war. But probably the hopeful and exulting spirit which the battle kindled in the South was equalled, if not outweighed, by its effect on the Northerners. Their defeat did not so much dishearten as sober them. Hitherto they had been possessed by a spirit of idle and vain-glorious confidence. They had fancied that secession could be crushed in two or three months. Now they saw that a great war was before them, which would tax their energies and their resources to the utmost. They learned that success could be bought only at a heavy price, and they soon showed that they were not unwilling to pay it.

6. Affairs in Western Virginia.—It will be impossible in

the history of the war to take in all the events in strict order of time. If we did so, we should be constantly shifting our view from one scene of operations to another, and be unable to get any connected idea of each. Many different sets of operations were going on together, which can only be kept clear and distinct by tracing out one for a considerable time, and then going back to another. We must now go back to events earlier than Bull Run. Virginia, as we have seen, was not unanimous in its resolution to secede. The wish to remain in the Union prevailed in the western part of the State beyond the Alleghanies. The inhabitants of this district wished to form themselves into a separate State, and to cleave to the Union. A convention met, which carried out the wishes of the inhabitants by establishing a separate government. This was regarded by the other Virginians as treachery to the State, which had a higher claim on their loyalty than the Union. Accordingly it became of importance both to the Federals and to the Confederates to secure this district. The key to the possession of it was Harper's Ferry on the Potomac. In June, Johnston, with eight thousand men, held this place, but, being threatened by a force of more than double that number under Patterson, he abandoned it. Early in July, General McClellan invaded Western Virginia with twenty thousand men. The defending force, numbering about eight thousand, was stationed at Rich Mountain, on the western slope of the Alleghanies. When McClellan approached, they attempted to retreat, but were forced to give battle, and were completely defeated. Later in the year a Confederate force under Lee attempted to dislodge the Federals, but without success. It was not however till two years later that Western Virginia was admitted into the Union as a separate State.

7. *Operations on the Upper Mississippi.*—During the summer and autumn of 1861 important operations went

forward in the west. The States of Missouri and Kentucky were, from their position, of great importance in the war. They commanded the Upper Mississippi and the south-west portion of the seceding States. Accordingly, it was an object with each party to secure them. Both States would have wished to remain neutral, if they could have done so, but, as with Virginia, this was impossible. In each the sympathies of the inhabitants were about equally balanced. As Kentucky would not join the Southern Confederacy, in September General Polk, a Louisianian bishop who had turned soldier, invaded and took possession of it. In Missouri, a long and severe struggle between the two parties within the State was settled by the Federals occupying it with an army. In both Kentucky and Missouri there was some fighting during the autumn of 1861, which resulted somewhat in favour of the Confederates, but nothing decisive was done. In the autumn of 1861, the Federal Government created a separate military province, called the Western Department, with its centre at St. Louis on the Mississippi. This was placed under the command of General Halleck. His part in the war, though not a conspicuous, was a very important one. He never distinguished himself in the field, but his understanding of military geography and his judgment as to the general course of operations were probably equal to that of any man in either army. He saw that the true policy of the Federals was to advance up the Tennessee and the Cumberland, a river which runs for the most part parallel to it, and so to penetrate into the south-western States, and to master the upper valley of the Mississippi. To carry out this it was necessary to take Fort Henry on the Tennessee, and Fort Donelson on the Cumberland. Accordingly, at the beginning of 1862, General Grant with seventeen thousand men was sent against Fort Henry. It was evident that the place

could not be held, but Tilghan, the Confederate general in command, made a determined resistance, and enabled the main body of his troops to escape to Fort Donelson. The Federal gunboats then attacked Fort Donelson, but were beaten off. The Confederates however, finding themselves outnumbered by the besieging force, attempted to cut their way through, but were driven back, mainly through the resolution of Grant and his subordinate Smith. The garrison, learning that the besieging force was nearly double its own strength, surrendered. By this victory the Federals gained fifteen thousand prisoners, twenty thousand small-arms, and sixty-five guns, with a loss of little more than two thousand men. It also gave them possession of Kentucky, and of a large part of Tennessee. Moreover the Confederate line of defence was driven back some fifty miles, and Nashville, a large and important town, and Columbus, a fortress which commanded the upper waters of the Mississippi, were abandoned to the Federals. This was soon followed up by further successes. The Confederates held New Madrid on the right bank of the Mississippi, and No. 10 Island just opposite. General Pope was sent from St. Louis to attack them. Batteries were erected against Fort Madrid, whereupon the garrison fled, leaving large quantities of arms and ammunition. No. 10 Island was then bombarded from the river, but to no purpose. Pope could not attack it, as it could only be reached from the left bank, and he could not bring up boats to carry his troops across, owing to the Confederate batteries which commanded the river. This difficulty was at length overcome by cutting a canal twelve miles long across a horseshoe formed by the river. By this means transports were brought down the river, Pope crossed, and the island surrendered, with nearly seven thousand men and large supplies. Following up this success, the Federals in two engagements defeated the Confederate fleet of gunboats and obtained

possession of the Upper Mississippi as far as the frontier of Tennessee.

8. **The Battle of Shiloh.**—In spite of these disasters, the Confederate forces in the west proceeded to act on the offensive. The position of the two armies was not altogether unlike that at Bull Run. Each was in two divisions, the main bodies facing each other under Grant and Beauregard, the smaller divisions also facing each other under Buell and Sydney Johnston. This Johnston must not be confounded with the other Confederate general of that name, Joseph Johnston, the hero of Bull Run. As at Bull Run, the Southern armies had the advantage of railway communication. Their commanders resolved to unite, and to deal with Grant before Buell could join him. This scheme was successful, and the whole Confederate army under Johnston marched against Grant. The numbers were about equal, forty thousand on each side. Early on the morning of April the 6th the Confederates attacked. Many of the Federal troops were taken completely by surprise, and fell back in confusion. A second Bull Run seemed to be at hand, with this addition, that the Federals had a river immediately at their back, and were thus cut off from retreat. Such a misfortune was warded off by the determination with which General Sherman held his ground, and by the death of Johnston. Struck by a bullet, in the eagerness of victory he disregarded the wound, and only learned its severity when he found himself fast bleeding to death. Had he lived, he would probably have followed up his success, and crushed Grant's demoralized army before Buell could come up. The delay saved the Federals. Grant was joined by Buell with twenty thousand men, and, with that dogged courage which distinguished him throughout the war, he returned next day to the attack. His troops, by rallying so readily and so successfully, showed that the panic of the day before was due to want of

discipline, and not to cowardice. In the second engagement the Confederates were worsted, and withdrew in good order; their total loss in the two days was about eleven thousand, that of the Federals some three thousand more. Throughout these two days' engagements, called the Battle of Shiloh, there was little room for skilful tactics. It has been described as a gigantic bush-fight. From the nature of the ground, neither commander could get any comprehensive idea of the state of affairs, or even attempt to exercise control over more than a part of his army. Soon after this, the Confederate Government, considering its forces unequal to the task of holding Missouri and Arkansas, abandoned those States to the enemy. The troops withdrawn thence were concentrated under Beauregard at Corinth. Shortly after the Federals took Memphis on the Mississippi, a town of considerable commercial importance, and valuable as a centre of railway communication.

9. Capture of New Orleans.—On the Lower Mississippi the Federals had achieved even more brilliant and valuable successes. In no department was the North weaker at the outset than in its navy, and in none were so much energy and determination shown in rapidly making up for shortcomings. At the beginning of 1861 there were only four ships fit for duty in harbours held by the Federal Government. All the rest of the national navy was either seized by the Confederates or was at foreign stations. Yet, by the end of the year, the blockade had been so successfully maintained, that a hundred and fifty vessels had been captured in the attempt to break through. Moreover the Federals had taken Port Royal, a fortress on the coast between Charleston and Savannah, and of importance for the defence of those two places. This was soon followed by an unsuccessful endeavour to block up Charleston harbour by sinking ships, filled with stone, across its mouth. This attempt to destroy

for ever a valuable harbour, of great importance to Southern commerce, was not much to the credit of the Federal Government. The next important naval attempt was of a far more glorious character. This was the capture of New Orleans by Admiral Farragut, whereby the Southern States were cut off from the lower waters of the Mississippi. Considering the great importance of the place, the Confederate Government do not seem to have done enough for its defence. In April, 1862, the Federal fleet entered the mouth of the river, and for six days and nights bombarded the fortification which guarded the entrance. On the morning of the 24th, before daybreak, the Federals fought their way up the river, past the forts, and through the gunboats of the enemy. The Confederate flotilla was completely destroyed, while the assailants only lost one vessel. General Lovell, the commander at New Orleans, considering that it would be impossible to hold the city, withdrew his troops. Farragut took possession of the place, and was joined by General Butler with a land force, which had been at hand, though it had taken no part in the attack. The city was then placed under the military government of Butler. He kept order, and the inhabitants do not seem to have suffered much under his rule. But his overbearing manner, his summary and, as it was considered, illegal execution of a citizen who had cut down the United States flag, and the brutal language of his public documents, earned for him, alone among all the Federal commanders, the universal hatred of the South.

10. Federal attack on Vicksburg.—Vicksburg was now the one Confederate stronghold on the Mississippi. It stands on a horseshoe of land and commands the river in both directions. Moreover it is protected on the north-west by the Yazoo, a river which flows into the Mississippi above the town, and it is also surrounded by swamps and forest. On

June the 24th the Federal fleets from New Orleans and St. Louis united. The same manœuvre was tried here which had succeeded at New Madrid. A canal was cut across the horseshoe, and thus the Federal fleet was enabled to command the whole river without passing the batteries of the town. The siege was marked by a most brilliant exploit on the part of a small Confederate ram, the *Arkansas*. She steamed out of the mouth of the Yazoo, fought its way through the Federal fleet of fifteen vessels, doing much damage to them, and anchored safely under the guns of Vicksburg. In July, after four months' continuous bombardment, the Federals abandoned the attack.

II. The "Merrimac" and "Monitor." — One feature in the naval history of the war deserves notice, since it ushered in a change of the greatest importance in naval warfare. This was the use of iron-clad vessels. The first of these that appeared in the war was a somewhat roughly-built ram with iron plating, called the *Manasses*, devised by a Confederate officer, Commodore Hollins. She fell upon the Federal squadron which was blockading the mouth of the Mississippi, dashed into the midst of it, and put it to flight. Soon afterwards it became known that the Confederates were preparing a large iron-clad. This was the *Merrimac*, a steamer which had belonged to the Federal Government, and had been captured in Norfolk Navy-yard. The Federals set to work to build an iron-clad turret-ship, called the *Monitor*, to match her. Each worked hard to be the first in the field. In this the Confederates succeeded. On March the 8th, 1862, the *Merrimac* appeared in the mouth of the James River, and immediately destroyed two Federal vessels. She attacked a third, but, before she could complete its destruction, the *Monitor*, just launched, came to the rescue. She stood the shock of the *Merrimac*, which had been fatal to the wooden ships, and at last beat her off

with much damage. This fight was the first fair trial of iron-clad ships.

12. Dealings with Foreign Nations.—The Southern Confederacy at the outset confidently expected help from foreign powers. But in this it was disappointed. The European nations all stood neutral. The British Government excited the anger of the North by recognizing the South as belligerents, though, as I have said, the declaration of blockade had already in reality so recognized them. In the winter of 1861 an event occurred which threatened to embroil the Federal Government with Great Britain. The Confederate Government sent two agents, Messrs. Slidell and Mason, to England. They ran the blockade, and then sailed in an English steamer, the *Trent*, from Havannah. Captain Wilkes, in the Federal war-ship *San Jacinto*, intercepted the *Trent*, ordered her to heave to, and, when she refused, fired upon her. He then sent a party on board, and carried off the agents to New York. This act was, in kind, not unlike those which had driven the Americans into the war of 1812, though it was a far more distinct and glaring breach of the law of nations. The British Government at once demanded the liberation of the Southern agents, giving the Federal Government seven days to consider the matter. President Lincoln and Mr. Seward, the Secretary of State, saw that the act could not be justified, and the agents were released.

13. McClellan's Campaign in Virginia.—We must now go back somewhat in time to trace the operations on the Virginian frontier since Bull Run. A vast Federal force, called the Army of the Potomac, was being concentrated near Washington under General McClellan. In his hands it was gradually changed from a mere horde of undisciplined recruits into a well-drilled and well-appointed army. By February, 1862, this force had grown to about two hundred thousand. The autumn and winter of 1861 had passed, and

nothing was done. For this inactivity McClellan was greatly blamed. He was a Democrat, and it was thought that his political sympathies withheld him from inflicting a crushing blow on the South. It must be said in his defence that, before he could fight, he had to create a serviceable army. The President too interfered with his arrangements by detaching troops under separate commands, and thwarted his wishes by sacrificing every other military object to the defence of Washington. In April, 1862, McClellan set out against Richmond with more than one hundred thousand men. He first marched into the peninsula between the Rapahannock and the James River. His first proceeding was to lay siege to Yorktown, a place garrisoned by eight thousand men under General Magruder. Elaborate preparations were made for opening fire, but, before they were completed, Magruder had withdrawn. An attempt was made to pursue Magruder, but his rear-guard checked the Federals at Williamsburg and inflicted on them considerable loss. After this, McClellan advanced slowly on Richmond, while the Confederates retired before him. At this time the Federal army suffered severely from sickness. On May the 31st the Confederates turned upon their pursuers at Fair Oaks, and, though overpowered by superior numbers, dealt them a serious blow. Soon after, Stuart, a Confederate general of cavalry, performed an exploit which deserves special mention. With one thousand five hundred horsemen he rode right round the Federal army, doing great damage, and for a while cutting off McClellan's communications with the rear. In the meantime operations were going on further to the west, which had an important influence on McClellan's movements. The Shenandoah River runs north-west and joins the Potomac about fifty miles above Washington. Here Jackson had been fighting with extraordinary success against a Federal force far larger than his own. By falling on the dif-

ferent divisions of the enemy in succession, he had inflicted on them three severe defeats, and, by seriously alarming the Federal Government as to the safety of Washington, he had drawn off large forces which would otherwise have joined McClellan. He then by forced marches withdrew from the Shenandoah valley, and he had joined the Confederate army near Richmond before the enemy knew of his departure. That army was now under the command of General Lee. Lee was a Virginian of an old family, several of whose members had distinguished themselves in the revolutionary war. Like many other Virginians, he had' reluctantly joined the secessionists in obedience to the commands of his State. It would have been hard to find a general more peculiarly fitted for the command of the Southern forces. An army far inferior to the enemy in number and resources specially needs the encouragement of personal loyalty and love for their commander, and no general ever called out those feelings more fully or more deservedly than Lee. Moreover his dashing and enterprising system of warfare was exactly suited to troops of great natural courage, who required to be buoyed up in a seemingly hopeless task by the prospect of brilliant success. Late in June Lee advanced against McClellan and defeated him. In order to effect this, Lee had to leave Richmond in a great measure unguarded. McClellan did not avail himself of this by advancing, as he feared that he might be cut off from his supplies. He soon abandoned all hope of an attack on Richmond, and withdrew his army. An attempt to harass his retreat was repulsed with severe loss, and he retired to a secure position on the James River. Though the loss inflicted on the Federals was not very heavy, yet his whole campaign must undoubtedly be set down as a failure. Considering how much time had been spent in organizing his army, and remembering that no cost had been spared in making all needful preparations

for the campaign, it is impossible to acquit McClellan of the charges brought against him of over-caution and want of decision. His troops were indeed raw, but not more so than those with which Grant and Lee had successfully carried out a far bolder policy, while McClellan was far better furnished with supplies of every kind than those commanders. This much praise however must be given to him, that he never placed his troops in a position where a defeat would be fatal, that he conducted his retreat without suffering his army to become demoralized, and that the discipline which he introduced did much towards training the Northern armies for their later victories.

14. *Pope's Campaign in Virginia.*—In June, 1862, the three armies which had been opposed to Jackson were placed under the command of Pope, fresh from his successes in the west. He issued a boastful address, contrasting the success of the western army with the failure in Virginia, and sneering at McClellan's inaction. As might be supposed, after such a beginning, there was no cordial co-operation between the armies. In August, Pope advanced to the Rapidan River. Before marching he issued orders that his army was to live on the enemy's country, that, if any Federal soldier was fired at from a house, it was to be pulled down, and that Southern citizens refusing to give security for good conduct were to be sent south, and, if they returned, to be treated as spies. In this Pope contrasted unfavourably with McClellan, who had done his best during his march through Virginia to save the country from the horrors of war. Pope's conduct excited great indignation in the South, and the Confederate Government issued orders that Pope and his commissioned officers should, if captured, be treated as common prisoners, not as prisoners of war. On August the 9th Pope encountered a detachment of Lee's army under Jackson. The Federals were defeated in two battles, the

first at Cedar Mountain, the other, somewhat later, at Gainsville, near the field of Bull Run. Early in September Pope was driven back into the works of Washington, having lost thirty thousand men. He laid the blame of these defeats on McClellan, who, he said, had withheld from him the support which he needed and to which he was entitled. Pope however was superseded, and McClellan was placed in command of the whole army.

15. Operations in the west in the Autumn of 1862.—By the defeat at Shiloh and the earlier Federal successes, the Confederate line was a second time driven back. Halleck advanced with great caution and deliberation towards Corinth, but before he could reach the place Beauregard had secretly withdrawn his forces. For this he was severely, though it would seem unjustly, blamed in the South, and was superseded by General Bragg. Soon after Halleck was called off to undertake the defence of Washington, now threatened by the Confederate successes in Virginia. This left Grant in command of the western army. A large portion of his forces was sent off under Buell to attack Chattanooga. This place is on the west frontier of Georgia, on the Tennessee River, and was of great importance as a centre of railway communication for the south-west. The Confederates now set to work resolutely to repair their losses in the west. Fresh troops were raised. Not only was Bragg thus largely reinforced, but his position was a much stronger one than that which the Confederates had before held. The country through which the right of the Federal line now had to advance was swampy and difficult to march through. Accordingly, while the main body of the Confederates faced Buell, two smaller forces under Generals Van Dorn and Price were left to deal with Grant. Their first attempt was to dislodge the Federal force, twenty thousand strong, under General Rosecrans, from Corinth. But, though

the Confederates were superior in numbers, they were defeated with heavy loss. Grant would have followed up this success by an advance on Vicksburg, but was withheld by a brilliant and successful attack made by Van Dorn on the Federal head-quarters at Holly Springs. By this the Federals lost supplies to the value of two million dollars. Soon after this Sherman was defeated at Chickasaw, while attempting to penetrate through the country between the Yazoo River and Vicksburg.

16. Bragg's Invasion of Kentucky.—In the autumn of 1862 the war assumed a new character. Hitherto the Confederates had stood entirely on the defensive. Now they ventured to invade their enemy's territory, both in the west and near the coast. As we have seen, Bragg was set free with a strong army to act against Buell in Kentucky. His plan was to invade that State, both for the sake of the supplies which it contained and with the view of diverting the Federal forces from their operations on the Mississippi. Hopes too were entertained that Kentucky might be induced by this pressure to join the Southern Confederacy. Serious operations were preceded by some dashing raids of irregular cavalry under Morgan and Forrest, two Southern officers who specially distinguished themselves in such warfare. Bragg's invading army numbered fifty thousand. Buell's force against him was raised by detachments from Grant's army and other reinforcements to a hundred thousand. Thus outnumbered, Bragg withdrew, after a single battle at Perryville, in which the loss on each side was about equal. But for the large supplies which he carried off, this invasion would have been a complete failure. The Federal Government, considering that Buell had not followed up his success as he might have done, transferred the command to Rosecrans. Bragg again advanced, and was met by Rosecrans at Murfreesboro. On December the 31st a fierce battle followed,

in which the Federals were saved from defeat by the steadiness of Sherman's troops. Bragg again retreated, and thus ended the Confederate attempt to carry the war into the enemy's territory in the west.

17. *Lee's first Invasion of Maryland.*—Meanwhile Lee had been carrying out a yet bolder policy, with better, though not with complete, success. On September the 5th, 1862, he crossed the Potomac. The conduct of his army contrasted favourably with that of Pope's. Nevertheless the Confederates were disappointed in the hope of support from the Marylanders. That had been one of the main objects of the invasion. But the sight of the ill-supplied, ill-clad, often unshod, soldiers from the South, was not encouraging. Lee's order for the campaign accidentally fell into McClellan's hands. Thus instructed, McClellan followed the line of Lee's march. Pressed as he was by superior numbers, Lee daringly detached twenty-five thousand men, under Jackson, to cross the Potomac and attack Harper's Ferry. The place was garrisoned by fourteen thousand men, of whom the cavalry, twenty-five hundred in number, cut their way out. The rest surrendered, and the place, with large stores, fell into the hands of the Confederates. Jackson at once hurried back and joined Lee, who had been brought to bay by his pursuer at Antietam. There a battle was fought with a loss of about thirteen thousand on each side. Lee then withdrew across the Potomac. McClellan might, it was thought, by a vigorous advance, have crushed the Confederate army before it could reach the river. But it must be said in his defence, that on his army rested the last hopes of the Federals in the east, and that defeat might have involved the capture of Washington. Soon after however McClellan was superseded by Burnside. He crossed the Potomac, and followed Lee to his works at Fredericksburg, on the Rapahannock. There he gave battle, but was defeated with a loss of nearly fourteen

thousand men, against about five thousand on the Confederate side. This victory, one of the most brilliant of the war, was the more striking, as it was achieved by troops who had just been harassed by long marches through an enemy's country, and who had scarcely the necessaries of life, fighting against a well-organized and well-supplied army. After this defeat the Federals withdrew to the Potomac.

18. Lincoln emancipates the Slaves.—From the beginning of the war, a number of Acts had been passed by Congress with reference to the Southern slaves. As early as August, 1861, it had been enacted that all slaves used by the Confederates for military purposes, such as constructing batteries, entrenching, and the like, should be free. Another Act forbade the surrender of slaves who should take refuge within the Federal lines. Laws were also passed, carrying out two measures which the anti-slavery party had always advocated, namely, the abolition of slavery in the district of Columbia, and the prohibition of it in the Territories. In July, 1862, two Acts of great importance were passed. One ordered that all slaves escaping from, or taken from, Southern masters should be free. This was passed, after considerable opposition. The other provided for the enlistment of negroes as soldiers. Such negroes were to obtain, not only their own freedom, but that of their wives, mothers, and children. This went further in the direction of emancipation, and of the equality of the races, than any previous measure. So far the President had taken no decided line on the subject of slavery, but had remained firm to the principle which he had laid down, that he had no power to meddle with slavery where it already existed. The war however greatly altered the state of affairs. It might fairly be urged that the seceding States had forfeited their constitutional rights. There was too the yet stronger plea of necessity. There were obvious motives for emancipation. It might serve to convert the war

in the eyes of a large and influential class into a crusade against slavery, and to call out an enthusiasm which the mere cause of the Union could not kindle. Besides it would sap the resources of the South. The slave system set the whole white population free to fight, while the slaves produced all the needful supplies. Led by these motives, perhaps too in some measure by his personal antipathy to slavery, on January 1st, 1863, Lincoln issued a proclamation, declaring all the slaves in the seceding States, free. Even though it were unconstitutional, the measure cut a knot which perhaps, if this opportunity had passed, no state craft could have untied. It was no small thing to put an end, by whatever means, and at whatever cost, to a system fraught with so much guilt and misery. But, while emancipation in some ways strengthened the hands of the North, it united the Southerners, and hardened them in their resistance. The abolition of slavery meant the utter overthrow of all their accustomed modes of life. The war was no longer for political independence; it became almost a struggle for existence.

19. **Battle of Chancellorsville.**—Hooker was now placed in command of the Army of the Potomac. In April, he advanced into Virginia with a hundred and fifty thousand men, three times the number of Lee's forces. On the 30th of April, Hooker issued an order to his men, in which he told them that the Confederate forces were "the legitimate property of the army of the Potomac." In the face of this overwhelming force, Lee divided his army, and while he himself kept Hooker in check, he threw the other half under Jackson on the Federal right. Jackson's attack was successful, but the victory was purchased at a fearful price. He himself rode out to reconnoitre, and imprudently ventured too far forward. When riding back, he and his staff were mistaken for Federal cavalry. The Confederates fired, and Jackson fell, mortally wounded by his own men. His death

turned what might have been an utter defeat into a mere check. On the morrow the engagement became general, and, after two days' hard fighting, Hooker retreated towards the Potomac, having lost about eighteen thousand men, against ten thousand of the enemy. Terrible as the Federal loss was, it did not equal that which the Confederates had sustained in the death of Jackson. His promptness and rapidity of movement, and his power of striking with a speed and a certainty which made no second blow needful, have probably never been surpassed. His personal character too, like Lee's, begat in his soldiers a love and enthusiasm for their general which alone could carry them through the tasks that he set them. Only by movements like his could the smaller armies of the South make head against the overwhelming masses of their enemy, and it was no common good fortune that gave Lee a subordinate so peculiarly fitted to carry out plans, often daring even to rashness. The qualities which distinguished Jackson were not indeed wanting in other Confederate generals, and the later events of the war showed that he had no unworthy successor in Longstreet. But, though Longstreet might fitly succeed, he could not equal Jackson, and Lee hardly overstated the loss when he said that it would have been better for the South if he himself had fallen.

20. *Lee's second Invasion of Maryland.*—In May, Lee again marched northward. Rumours were prevalent of disaffection in the North, and it was thought that the appearance of a Confederate army might strengthen this feeling. At the outset of the campaign, Lee captured a Federal force of about four thousand men at Winchester. Soon afterwards another change was made in the command of the army of the Potomac, and Meade succeeded to that post in which Hooker, Burnside, and Pope had failed, and in which McClellan had achieved but a doubtful and chequered suc-

cess. On June 3rd the Southern army crossed the Potomac. Soon after, Stuart, repeating his brilliant exploit of the previous year, led his cavalry right round the Federal army, and for a time cut off Washington from its defending force. Meade, like McClellan in the previous invasion, got information as to his enemy's doings from an intercepted letter sent by Davis to Lee. This told Meade that the South was utterly stripped of troops, that no reinforcements could be sent to Lee, and that Richmond was without defenders. He then posted his forces at Gettysburg, in a strong position, covering Washington and Baltimore. Lee attacked him on the 1st of July, and was defeated after three days' hard fighting, with the loss of thirty-six thousand men. The Federal loss was twenty-three thousand. Meade made no immediate attempt to follow up his victory, and the defeated Confederates retreated across the Potomac. Meade followed them, and the war was again transferred to Virginia. Lee now avoided an engagement, and Meade retired to the north of the Rapahannock.

21. Capture of Vicksburg.—Vicksburg was, as we have seen, the last remaining stronghold of the Confederates on the Mississippi. It was garrisoned by twenty five-thousand men under General Pemberton. During the spring of 1863 repeated attempts were made upon Vicksburg by water, but without success. In May Grant proceeded to surround the place. Johnston, who was in command of the Confederate armies in the south-west, tried to join Pemberton, but, before he could do so, Grant had thrown himself between the two armies. He then defeated Pemberton in two engagements, and drove him back into Vicksburg. Grant then assaulted the place three times, but in vain. Then, having brought up all the reinforcements he could to guard against an attack by Johnston, he invested Vicksburg. Pemberton held out for nearly seven weeks, but no assistance reached him, and

on the 3rd of July he surrendered. Next day, on the anniversary of Independence and the day after the Federal victory of Gettysburg, Grant took possession of the place, which gave the North complete command of the Mississippi. Sherman was then detached with fifty thousand men against Johnston, who, having only about half that number, retreated. Three days later Fort Hudson, a Confederate stronghold on the Arkansas river, which had been closely besieged, when the news of the fall of Vicksburg arrived, surrendered.

22. Campaign of Chattanooga.—In June 1863 the Federal army in Tennessee under Rosecrans advanced upon Chattanooga. This place was the key to the Southern States on their western frontier, and the capture of it would lay the South open to invasion. The Confederate army under Bragg had been weakened in order to reinforce Johnston, and was now reduced to forty-six thousand, fourteen thousand less than the enemy's force. Bragg made but little attempt to check Rosecrans' advance or to hold Chattanooga. On September 8th the town was abandoned, and the Federal army took possession of it. Bragg then rallied his troops at Lafayette. Fortunately for him, the Virginian army was able to spare him a detachment, and twelve thousand of Lee's best troops under Longstreet were hurried up to his assistance. Thus reinforced, Bragg gave battle at Chickamauga on September 19th. The Federals were worsted, and their defeat would have been far more serious but for the firmness with which General Thomas stood his ground. Longstreet would have followed up his success, and would perhaps have converted defeat into destruction. But Bragg restrained him, and the Federals withdrew into Chattanooga. Their loss was about sixteen thousand; that of the Confederates about twelve thousand. Bragg then stationed his forces on the heights above the town. In consequence of this defeat, Rosecrans was superseded, and Thomas was appointed in his stead. •The position

of his army, with its communications harassed and interrupted, became one of serious danger. The Federal Government, fully alive to the importance of holding Chattanooga, took active measures for its relief. Grant was appointed commander-in chief in the west, and was sent to take charge of the defence of Chattanooga in person, and twenty thousand men under Hooker were brought from Virginia. At the same time Sherman's force was hurried up from Iuka, two hundred miles off. On the other hand Bragg had imprudently weakened his army by detaching Longstreet with fifteen thousand men to besiege Burnside in Knoxville, a hundred miles to the north-east of Chattanooga. In the battle which ensued Grant showed greater skill in combining the movements of large bodies of troops, and his subordinates showed greater power of carrying out such combinations harmoniously and successfully than had yet been seen in the war except in the Southern armies under Lee. On the 24th of November Sherman fought his way across the Tennessee river on the north of the town, and Hooker took possession of Look-out Mountain, a height to the south. Thus the whole Federal force was brought into line on the east side of the river. Bragg's army now lay opposite, on a line of heights called Missionary Ridge, a strong position, but too extensive to be properly held by the diminished forces of the Confederates. The battle opened with a fierce attack by Sherman on the Confederate right. This compelled Bragg to weaken his centre. Grant then attacked with his main body, and after a hard struggle the Confederates were driven down the heights. The loss on each side was about five thousand. The victory of Chattanooga saved Knoxville. Sherman's troops, though wearied by the battle and their previous marches, were at once hurried off to relieve Burnside. Longstreet, on hearing of Bragg's defeat, made one desperate and unsuccessful assault on Knoxville, and then withdrew into Virginia.

23. **The Conscription and the Riots of New York.**—It was seen early in the war that the voluntary enthusiasm of the South was unequal to the support of so great a struggle. In the summer of 1862 an Act was passed by the Southern Government, making all male citizens between eighteen and thirty-five years of age liable for military service, with a special exemption in favour of certain professions. As the war went on, fresh Acts were passed, extending the age, till at length no male between eighteen and fifty-three was exempt. The North, rich and able to offer liberal bounties, did not feel the need for compulsion so soon, but it came at last. In February 1864 an Act was passed, making all male citizens between eighteen and forty-five liable for military duty. Payment or provision of a substitute was allowed in place of personal service. These measures were differently received in the North and in the South. The Southerners were, as I have said, thoroughly united, and fired by an enthusiastic passion for their cause. Moreover they felt that they were fighting to ward off invasion from their own homes. The population of the North had not the same direct and personal interest in the war. Accordingly the ballot for conscripts at New York led to disturbances, which seemed at one time likely to endanger the city. Troops however were brought up, the municipality raised a fund to enable poor persons to pay for substitutes, and tranquillity was restored. It is remarkable, as showing how little sympathy New York had with the anti-slavery feeling of New England, that the negroes were made the special object of attack by the rioters.

24. **Naval Operations.**—All this while the blockade of the southern ports was successfully maintained. By this means the staple commodity of the South, cotton, was rendered worthless. At the same time, fort after fort was taken along the Southern coast. The only two affairs of this kind which were important enough to need separate notice were the

capture of Mobile by the Federals and their unsuccessful attempt upon Charleston. The attack on Charleston was undertaken rather for political than for military reasons. The place had always been the object of peculiar hatred in the North, as being the hotbed of secession. From a military point of view, any advantage that its capture might give was probably equalled by the fact that it kept thirty thousand men idle within its defences. On April 7th, 1863, the Federal fleet of iron-clads entered the harbour and opened fire upon the works, but were utterly unable to stand against the guns of the forts. After an engagement lasting forty minutes the fleet retreated, and their commander, Admiral Dupont, declared that in another half-hour every vessel would have been sunk. The Federal force then confined itself to detached attacks on Fort Wagner and Fort Sumter. The former was evacuated, the latter was bombarded till it was a heap of ruins. Nevertheless, the possession of it enabled the defenders of the place to impede the entrance of the harbour by the use of torpedoes and the like. Accordingly an attempt was made to dislodge them by an assault, but without success. Further south the Federals fared better. In the summer of 1864 Farragut attacked Mobile. The harbour was strongly fortified, and was a frequent resort for blockade-runners. With fourteen wooden ships and four iron-clads, Farragut forced his way in, destroyed the Confederate fleet in the harbour, and reduced the forts. Throughout the war the commerce of the Northern States was greatly harassed by Confederate cruisers, some of them built in British dockyards. The most noteworthy of these was the *Alabama*, which was launched in July 1862. During the next two years she captured sixty-five vessels, till she was at length destroyed by the Federal war-ship *Kearsage*, near Cherbourg harbour.

25. Grant's Plan of Campaign.—In the spring of 1864

Grant was appointed commander-in-chief of the whole Federal forces, under the title of Lieutenant-General, a distinction never conferred by the Federal Government on any one since Washington. He undertook, and successfully carried out, a more definite and continuous policy than had hitherto been attempted. Yet, in comparing him with those who had gone before him, we must not overlook several advantages which he enjoyed. The Southern Confederacy was fast becoming exhausted. Every campaign was draining it both of men and resources. The North, on the other hand, was becoming more united and more alive to the necessity of vigorous efforts. Grant too could learn by the failures of his predecessors, and he was at the head of armies whom those very failures had trained and disciplined. And, successful as Grant was, it must never be forgotten that his success was won by a deliberate sacrifice of life on a fearful scale, a sacrifice from which perhaps his predecessors would have shrunk. Yet, with all these drawbacks, the clearness with which Grant saw what were the great leading movements needful for success, and the dogged courage and unwearied patience with which he strove for those ends, must ever give him a high place among great commanders. His policy was to abandon all minor movements, to concentrate the whole force of the Federal arms on two great lines of attack, and to penetrate the Southern States from the southwest and from the north. The superior resources of the North would, he knew, enable him to wear down the South by sheer hard fighting. He would be able to bring fresh soldiers into the field when the Southern armies were annihilated and there were none to fill their place.

26. *Sherman's Invasion of the South-west.*—One part of this scheme, the invasion of the west, was entrusted to the ablest of Grant's subordinates, Sherman, to whose support, as Grant ever frankly acknowledged, his earlier successes in

the west were in a great measure due. Sherman's first point of attack was Atlanta in Georgia, an important centre of railway communication. It was about a hundred miles from Chattanooga, Sherman's point of departure. He set out early in May. His line of march lay along a railway which kept up his communication with Chattanooga. His army numbered nearly a hundred thousand. The Confederate force opposed to him, under Johnston, was barely half that number. Johnston gradually fell back, impeding Sherman's advance and harassing him on every occasion, but avoiding a pitched battle. The march was, in Sherman's own language, "one gigantic skirmish." Johnston had never stood well with the Southern Government, and his present policy met with no favour. On the 17th of July the command of the Confederate army was transferred to Hood. Whatever may be thought of Johnston's policy, it was hardly a well-chosen time for such a change. All the mischief that might result from Johnston's caution had now been done. His previous career showed that his retreat was not the result of weakness or indecision, but part of a deliberately arranged plan. To make a change now was to suffer all the mischief of such a plan and to forego the compensating gain. Hood at once adopted a bolder policy, but with no good result. He was defeated with heavy loss in a series of engagements round Atlanta. Sherman then marched to the west of Atlanta, and by threatening Hood's communication with the rear, forced him to evacuate the place. On the 2nd of September Sherman telegraphed to Washington "Atlanta is ours." His total loss in the campaign which ended thus was about thirty thousand, that of the enemy some ten thousand more. Merciless severity in his dealings with the inhabitants of the South, when the operations of war seemed to need it, was Sherman's fixed and deliberate policy. He was not wantonly, or even revengefully, cruel ; but he went on the principle that the South

could be crushed only by bringing home to the inhabitants a full sense of the miseries of war, and that no feeling of pity for them ought to stand in the way of any arrangement which could bring the war to a speedy end. In his own words, "war is cruelty, and you cannot refine it." In this spirit he ordered that all the inhabitants, without regard for sex, age, or sickness, should quit Atlanta, and he destroyed the buildings of the town, sparing only churches and dwelling-houses. The capture of Atlanta was but a step towards further ends. To penetrate into the heart of the Southern Confederacy was Sherman's ultimate aim. With this view he quitted Atlanta, abandoning his communications with the rear, and determining to maintain his army, nearly seventy thousand men, on the resources of the country and such supplies as he could carry with him. Hood, instead of opposing him, resolved to invade Tennessee; thus two invasions were going on simultaneously. The object of Sherman's march was the city of Savannah. On the 14th of November he started, and from that time till he arrived at the sea no clear tidings of his army reached the North. On the 20th of December a division of the army appeared before Fort McAlister, some fourteen miles from Savannah. The Federals had made more than one unsuccessful attack on this place from the sea, but it now fell at the first assault. General Hardee, who was in command of the Confederate forces at Savannah, found that it would be impossible to hold the place, and evacuated it. Sherman sent a message to the President announcing that he presented him, as a Christmas gift, with the city of Savannah. He had marched more than three hundred miles in thirty-six days, with a loss of little more than five hundred men. His own report stated that he had done damage to the amount of a hundred millions of dollars, of which eighty millions was sheer waste and destruction. The march of an invading army, subsisting on the country, must

always be accompanied by great suffering to the inhabitants, and little was done by Sherman or his officers to lessen it. The absence of an enemy relaxed discipline, and the army became little better than a horde of savage plunderers. The negroes rushed in troops to the army and followed their march, hailing them as deliverers ; but, as might be supposed, they could find no means of support, and perished in numbers from misery and hunger.

27. *Hood's Defeat.*—Widely different in its result from Sherman's invasion had been Hood's sortie into Tennessee. The army opposed to his was commanded by Thomas, and was stationed at Nashville. A detachment was sent forward under General Schofield to harass Hood and check his advance. Having done this successfully, Schofield fell back and joined the main body. On December the 15th the two armies engaged in front of Nashville, and after two days' fighting the Confederates fled in confusion, hotly pursued. Their sufferings in the retreat were intensified by all the horrors of mid-winter. For the first time in the history of the war, a Southern army was not only repulsed, but utterly shattered and routed.

28. *The Battles in the Wilderness.*—In the meantime Grant had been himself endeavouring to carry out the other half of his scheme in Virginia. His object was twofold : firstly, to destroy or cripple Lee's army ; secondly, to capture Richmond. Accordingly he began by a direct advance on Richmond, intending if that failed to proceed against it on the south-east side, as McClellan had done two years before. The Federal army advanced in three bodies. The main body marched through the country in which the battle of Chancellorsville had been fought. The right wing, under Sigel, marched up the Shenandoah valley ; the left, under Butler, near the coast between the Rapahannock and the James river. The country through which the main body marched was called

the Wilderness. It consisted of tobacco-fields, thrown out of cultivation, covered with low, scrubby wood, and cut across by deep ravines. Most of the fighting throughout the war had been carried on in woody and broken country. This gave the battles a peculiar character. No one, in reading an account of the war, can fail to notice that the great battles often took several days, almost always more than one. From the nature of the ground, it was usually impossible for the general to carry out movements with great masses of troops, such as in the great battles of Europe have often decided the matter almost at a single blow. Moreover, in a country where a foe could always approach unseen, troops were liable to be taken suddenly in flank. This led to the general use of roughly and hastily-constructed defences. Thus a great battle was often a series of petty sieges, the troops defending themselves in one post after another by felling trees and hastily throwing up earthworks. All these peculiarities were seen in the highest degree in the battles of the Wilderness. The centre of the Federal army, under Meade, numbered one hundred and forty thousand. Against this Lee could only bring sixty thousand men. Outnumbered as he was, Lee at first acted on the offensive. In the first engagement he lost ten thousand men, the enemy double that number. After this, Lee contented himself with holding his ground against the attacks of the Federals. In all the history of war, it would be hard to find an instance of an army making so brilliant and so successful a resistance against an enemy far superior both in numbers and in resources. Again and again did Grant hurl his forces upon Lee's line, and each time he was forced by a flank movement to turn the position which he had failed to carry. After a month of this continuous carnage, Grant found himself on the south-east side of Richmond, with the Confederate line still unbroken and his own force lessened by sixty

thousand men. His position was one which McClellan had reached with comparatively trifling loss. All that he had to compensate him was the enemy's loss of eighteen thousand men, a loss in reality more serious than his own, since they could not be replaced. The South too had lost the services of Stuart and Longstreet. The former had fallen in some detached cavalry operations to the north-east of the main army. Longstreet, by a strange chance, had nearly met the same fate as Jackson. He and his staff as they rode along in front of his line were mistaken for Federal cavalry. The men fired, and Longstreet fell, seriously, though not, as was at first thought, mortally, wounded. In the meantime Butler's force had been checked by Beauregard. That general had formed the daring scheme of withdrawing fifteen thousand men from Lee's army, falling with his force thus strengthened on Butler, and then, if successful, attacking Grant's left flank. Jefferson Davis however refused to sanction this scheme, fearing that it would endanger Lee's army.

29. *Early's Sortie.*—The operations in the Shenandoah valley were important enough to need a separate notice. Early in May Sigel was utterly routed by Breckenridge. Sigel resigned his command and was succeeded by Hunter. He obtained some trifling success, but was afterwards outmanœuvred and forced to retreat into Western Virginia. Lee then, in hopes of creating a diversion, detached Early with twelve thousand men to threaten Washington. Hunter threw himself across Early's line of march, and, although defeated, created a hindrance and gave time for the defence of Washington. When the rumour came thither that Early had crossed the Potomac, the inhabitants at first mocked at all idea of danger. Extravagant terror soon took the place of over-confidence, and it was reported that Lee with sixty thousand men was marching on the capital. The danger was undoubtedly real, but troops arrived in time to make an

attack impossible. Early, who had advanced within a few miles of Washington, withdrew across the Potomac. In his march through Maryland he ravaged the country mercilessly, giving the inhabitants their first insight into the actual horrors of war. In the beginning of August, Grant sent Sheridan, one of the ablest of his subordinates, with forty-five thousand men to act against Early. For some weeks nothing was done beyond skirmishing. On September the 19th Sheridan attacked Early at Opiquan Creek and defeated him, with a loss of about five thousand men on each side. Sheridan then, obeying Grant's orders, utterly laid waste the valley. The alleged defence for this was the necessity of making it impossible for a Southern army to advance by that route against Washington. On the 18th of October Early surprised the Federal army at Cedar Creek. His attack was at first completely successful, but his forces became scattered and demoralized in pursuit, and betook themselves to plundering the enemy's camp and feasting. Sheridan rallied his troops, fell upon Early, and utterly defeated him, capturing all his stores and a large portion of his artillery. The actual loss of men was about equal, but the Confederates were driven out of the Shenandoah valley. Thus ended the last attempt of the South to carry the war into the enemy's country.

30. Re-election of Lincoln.—In the autumn of 1864 the presidential election took place. It seemed at first as if the parties would again be subdivided. A section of the Republicans were inclined to think that Lincoln would not show enough vigour in his dealings with the South. The thorough-going Abolitionists still distrusted his views about slavery. They proposed to bring forward General Fremont, a man of great energy and high personal character. Early in the war he had held command in the west, and had incurred the displeasure of the Federal Government by his summary and, as it was thought, unconstitutional

dealings with slavery. The Democrats too were divided into War Democrats and Peace Democrats. The representative of the former was General McClellan. The latter supported Governor Seymour of New York. The main difference between the two parties was, that the War Democrats, although opposed to slavery and in favour of State rights, refused to listen to anything like recognition of Southern independence. At last the extreme wing of each party withdrew, and the contest lay between Lincoln and McClellan. The latter laboured under many disadvantages. His military career, though respectable, had not been brilliant, and was now utterly eclipsed by Grant's successes. The time too was a bad one for putting forward the established doctrine of the Democrats, that of State rights. Moreover, as Lincoln himself put it in a homely way, it was not well to change horses while crossing a stream. These considerations were strong enough to enlist on the Republican side all those who were led rather by the special circumstances of the time, than by any fixed preference for either party, and Lincoln was elected by an enormous majority.

31. Fall of Richmond.—During the winter of 1864 the cause of the South became more and more hopeless. Lee's forces were gradually lessened by desertions and sickness, while he was straitened for supplies, both by mismanagement and by scarcity. In the meantime, Sherman was rapidly approaching from the South. At the end of January he left Savannah and advanced through South Carolina. Columbia, the political capital of that State, was evacuated, and Hardee, the Southern commander, in his anxiety to destroy the stores of cotton there, lest they should fall into the hands of the Federals, burnt down a large part of the city. A like fate befell Charleston. By the last week in March, Sherman had brought his army to the southern frontier of Virginia. Lee, it was clear, would, if he remained before Richmond,

be crushed between the two Federal armies. His only hope was to join Johnston, who commanded the Confederate forces in South Carolina. On the 25th of March a Confederate force under General Gordon attacked the Federal lines, in the hope of cutting a way through for the escape of the army. At the outset the attempt was successful, and Fort Steadman, a strong work on the Federal right, was seized. The Federals however rallied, repulsed their assailants, and recaptured the fort. On the 29th of March Grant resolved to strike a decisive blow. Sheridan, by a daring and skilful attack, utterly defeated the Confederate right. This was immediately followed by an attack on the whole. The Confederate lines were forced, and the defence of Richmond became impossible. On Sunday, April 2, the news of Lee's defeat was brought to Jefferson Davis while he was in church. In a few hours the whole city was seized by a panic. As in Columbia and Charleston, the attempt to destroy the public property was followed by a fire, by which half of the town was destroyed. On the 3rd of April the Federal flag floated over the Southern capital. Petersburg was evacuated on the same day.

32. *Surrender of the Confederate Armies.*—The retreat of Lee and the fall of Richmond practically ended the war. The South might prolong the struggle, but all hopes of success were at an end. Yet men remembered how, after Antietam and Gettysburg, Lee's retreating army had turned upon its pursuers, and it yet seemed possible that some signal triumph might win for the South better terms than she could expect by an immediate surrender. But Lee's wearied, starving disheartened, forces, were no longer the same men who had conquered at Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville. Through mismanagement, his supplies went astray, and after the 5th of April his army had no food but such as it could glean from an exhausted country in the face of an ever-

watchful enemy. The men were glad to feed on the shoots of trees, and the mules fell down in the road from weakness. Whole bodies of soldiers laid down their arms and surrendered, till Lee was left with little more than ten thousand men. By April the 9th the energy of Sheridan had barred the path of Lee's retreating force. Once more Gordon tried to cut a way through, but in vain, and then Lee sent in a flag of truce. Grant allowed liberal terms of surrender. The Southern soldiers were to become prisoners on parole, and were to return to their homes and stay there unmolested as long as they refrained from bearing arms. Men and officers alike were to retain those horses that had been their private property, a condition of no small importance to the Southern farmers. Grant and his officers left nothing undone which could lessen the bitterness of defeat, or relieve the sufferings of the Confederate troops. Lee's parting with his soldiers showed that he had won from them a love and confidence which no defeat or misfortune could lessen. War-worn men, with tears running down their cheeks, pressed round him to say farewell, and all personal distress seemed swallowed up in sympathy for their commander. Johnston's army soon shared the fate of Lee's. On the 18th of April Sherman and Johnston met to settle the terms of surrender. Sherman, going far beyond his province as a general, granted, not merely the personal safety of the Southern army, but the restoration of political rights to the South. The Federal Government refused to confirm these terms. Johnston then offered to surrender on the same conditions that had been granted to Lee, and this was accepted.

33. **Death of Lincoln and end of the War.**—The few remaining Confederate forces soon yielded, and the war was at an end. Jefferson Davis, after his flight from Richmond, sought to establish the Confederate seat of government at Danville in North Carolina. The surrender of the Confede-

rate armies obliged him to flee. After many adventures and hardships he reached Georgia, but was there taken prisoner. In the meantime an event had occurred in the North which threatened to embitter greatly the feelings of the conquerors. On the 14th of April Lincoln was assassinated in the theatre at Washington. His murderer was an actor, named John Wilkes Booth, a fanatical partisan of the Southern cause and of slavery. He was at the head of a conspiracy for murdering the President, the Vice-President, the members of the cabinet, and General Grant. The assassination of Lincoln was the only part of the plot which succeeded. One of the conspirators, Powell, broke into the house of Mr. Seward, the Secretary of State, who was confined in his room by an accident, and wounded both him and his son severely, but not mortally. Booth was pursued and shot down, Powell and three accomplices were hanged, and four others were imprisoned. No Confederate in any high station or official position was in anywise implicated in this atrocious and purposeless crime. Lincoln was succeeded by the Vice-President, Andrew Johnson, a native of South Carolina, who had emigrated when young to Tennessee, and had warmly taken up the cause of the North.

34. *Reconstruction of the Union.*—Johnson's term of office and that of his successor, General Grant, have been taken up with the process of reconstructing the Union. That process, still incomplete, lies beyond the limits of this history, and we cannot do more than glance at its beginning. During the autumn of 1865 several of the Southern States annulled their ordinances of secession, and abolished slavery within their own limits. A test oath was framed by Congress to be taken by all its members. They were to swear that they had never voluntarily borne arms against, or renounced their allegiance to, the United States Government. This, as long as it remained in force, excluded all who had taken any active

part on behalf of the South, though it might be doubted how far it applied to those who had only yielded compulsory military service. In January 1866 a committee of Congress was appointed to consider the question of reconstruction. From that time the old struggle between North and South may be looked on as having taken a new form, and American history as having entered on a new epoch, of which we are still in the midst.

CHAPTER XXVI.

CONCLUSION.

Extension towards the west (1)—the Californian gold discoveries (2)—commerce, &c. (3)—diversity of population (4)—religious sects (5)—education, literature, &c. (6).

1. Extension towards the West.—I have already said that the history of the United States is, in a great measure, the history of the process by which a small body of colonies on the Atlantic sea-board have spread towards the west. When that process is ended, it is possible that many of the peculiar features which distinguish America from the Old World will disappear. Hitherto land has been so abundant that the position of a tenant renting from a landlord has been almost unknown. But when the time comes that the unoccupied districts in the west have all been taken into cultivation, land may perhaps come to have the same value which it has in the Old World. So too men may be driven by want of land into manufactures. Hitherto men in the United States have always had before them the possibility of bettering themselves by a change of abode. Moreover the great demand for labour has given them a free choice of

occupation, and thus led to rapid changes. The ease too with which money can be made has led men to concentrate their energies on business, and thus the luxuries and refinements of life have been to a great extent neglected. When the power of extension towards the west is at an end, all this will change, and we may reasonably suppose that the United States will become far more like the great nations of Europe.

2. *The Californian Gold Discoveries.*—The most remarkable feature in the history of Western America is the discovery of gold in California in 1848, and its immediate results. Such was the rush of immigrants that in eighteen months one hundred thousand people had gone to California. All were intent on the one object of gold digging. Labour could not be procured; the necessaries of life commanded fabulous prices; gold alone was plentiful and cheap. Wages it is said were at first as high as fifty dollars (10*l.*) a day, and the rent of a small cellar twelve feet by six was two hundred and fifty dollars a month. The city of San Francisco sprang up as if by magic; upwards of twenty houses a day were built on an average. As might be supposed, a mob of adventurous gold-hunters from all nations formed but poor material for a settled population. In 1843 California became a State, without passing through the intermediate stage of being a Territory. But the authorities were utterly unequal to the task of preserving law and order, and San Francisco seemed likely to become a mere den of criminals. A private body was formed, consisting of the most respectable citizens, and called the Vigilance Committee. This body took the law into its own hands, and succeeded by summary measures in establishing order. In 1856 things again became so bad that the citizens were driven to like measures.

3. *Commerce, &c.*—The main commerce of America has lain, as must always be the case with an imperfectly settled

country, in the exportation of raw produce, corn, rice, cotton, and tobacco. But, though the cost of labour has hitherto prevented America from competing successfully in manufactures with the Old World, in one way it has quickened her manufacturing skill. In the art of substituting machinery for human labour the Americans have far surpassed the people of Europe. The greater part of the inventions for saving labour in farming, or in the every-day tasks of life, by the use of machinery, come from the United States. We may reasonably expect that the skill thus learned will enable the Americans, when their market for labour shall be better stocked, to equal, or even to surpass, the manufactures of Europe.

4. *Diversity of Population.*—We have already seen how various nations of the Old World have contributed to make up the population of the United States. This will always have an important influence on their social and political condition. The Southern States have been, comparatively speaking, free from this influence. Where slavery exists, there is little temptation for free labourers to immigrate, and thus the white population of the South is mainly descended from the original English settlers. But in the North the population is largely made up of blood other than English. There have always been many Germans in Pennsylvania and New York, and the population of the latter State has been recruited by a continuous inpouring of Irish. It is difficult for a people thus made up to take the same fixed and abiding interest in their country as is felt by men whose forefathers have for generations lived on the same soil. This, coupled with the constant emigration westward, gives a peculiar character to the great cities of the Eastern States. Men look on them rather as mere places of business than as fixed and lasting abodes handed to them by their fathers and to be handed on to their children.

5. Religious Sects.—This unsettled condition, and this familiarity with sudden and rapid changes, may have had something to do with the origin of various religious sects in America, holding strange doctrines, and living in peculiar fashions. Two of these sects are important enough to deserve separate notice. These are the Shakers and the Mormons. The sect of Shakers was founded about 1780, by Anne Lee, the daughter of a Lancashire blacksmith. There are now about three thousand five hundred of them in the United States, living in fifty-eight separate communities. These communities are not altogether unlike the religious houses of the Middle Ages. Their inhabitants are unmarried, and live with great temperance and good order, altogether shut off from the world. Almost all kinds of diversion and enjoyment are forbidden to the Shakers, and their time is spent in religious exercises and farming. In the latter pursuit they have been remarkably successful. The whole brotherhood owns as much as a hundred thousand acres of land, and the Shakers are reputed the best farmers in America. The sect of Mormons was founded about 1830, by Joseph Smith, the son of a farmer in Vermont. He professed to have discovered a book called the Book of Mormon, revealing a new religion, and telling the history of the American continent before its discovery by Europeans. The book was really an ill-written imitation of the Bible, and those parts which professed to be historical were taken from an unpublished novel, written some years before by one Spaulding. Smith also professed to have direct communication with God, and to receive from Him instructions as to the conduct of his disciples. The first State in which he preached his doctrines was Missouri. There his disciples met with much persecution, and were hunted from one place to another. Mobs attacked them in defiance of law, and Smith was taken prisoner, and narrowly escaped death. In

1838 the Mormons fled to Illinois. There they built a town called Nauvoo, and became a prosperous community. Disciples flocked to them from various parts of Europe, and before ten years Nauvoo contained more than ten thousand Mormon inhabitants. This prosperity however turned their heads, and they soon brought persecution upon themselves. In 1843 Smith professed to have received a revelation permitting the Mormons to marry as many wives as they pleased. In the same year he announced himself as a candidate for the Presidency of the United States. Next year the office of a newspaper which had attacked Smith and his followers was seized by a Mormon mob, and the printing press destroyed. This was the signal for a sort of civil war between the Mormons and their neighbours. Smith was taken prisoner, dragged out of gaol by a lawless mob, and shot without trial. He was succeeded by Brigham Young, a carpenter by trade, and, like Smith, a native of Vermont. The troubles of the Mormons soon became so great that they resolved to leave Illinois, and to seek a refuge beyond the Rocky Mountains. After great hardships they settled in an uninhabited spot, by a lake called the Great Salt Lake, within the borders of Mexico. Soon after they found that the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo had given this territory to the United States Government. However in 1850 the country which they had occupied was formed into a Territory under the name of Utah, and Brigham Young was appointed Governor. The industry of the Mormons soon converted an unpromising and seemingly barren district into a fertile one, and they became a rich and prosperous community. Young's arbitrary rule, and the way in which he and his followers have set the central Government at defiance, have more than once brought the Mormons into conflict with the Federal authorities, and it seems likely that serious troubles may yet arise. There are many other sects in the States, whose

doctrines and manner of life are even stranger than those of the Shakers or Mormons, but none of sufficient importance to deserve separate notice.

6. Education, Literature, &c.— We have seen that the northern colonies were, from the first, distinguished by the wide spread of knowledge among all classes. The United States have in that respect kept up the same character, and in that way contrast favourably with most European countries. Schooling is cheap and abundant. Books, magazines, and newspapers are placed within the reach of all by public libraries in the large towns. But though knowledge and the habit of reading are widely spread, the United States have not been fertile in great writers. There is only one department of literature in which America is at all on an equality with Europe, namely, history. Prescott's histories of the Conquests of Mexico and Peru, and Motley's histories of the Rise of the Dutch Republic and of the United Netherlands, rank among the best historical works of the age. Moreover there are many works on the history of states, districts, or towns in America, compiled with considerable care and learning. In fiction, whether poetry or prose, America has produced little that is either valuable or distinctive. Two novelists however, Cooper and Hawthorne, deserve special notice. Cooper, in default of a picturesque historical past, has fallen back on the Red Indians as a subject for fiction. As Sir Walter Scott in the Waverley Novels invested the wild highlanders and the border yeomen with a romantic interest, hitherto unfelt in them, so Cooper, in an inferior manner, has thrown a gleam of romance over the savage life and strange customs of the American Indians. Hawthorne too may be looked upon as representing a curious and interesting side of American feeling. The same craving for spiritual excitement, which has led to the formation of so many strange sects, shows itself

in Hawthorne's novels and tales, where the romantic interest is furnished by partly supernatural incidents, while the substance of the story generally deals with the every-day country life of New England.

Conclusion.—I have sought to trace the process by which in less than two hundred years, a few scattered settlements grew into a great nation. I have endeavoured to show how the political institutions which the early settlers carried out with them grew and expanded, till they fitted themselves to the special wants of states, which differed widely from those which had been their original home and birthplace. In this process lies the great interest of American history. It is not particularly rich in picturesque incidents or in striking characters. The very likeness which the life of America bears to our own every-day life prevents us in some degree from appreciating any romantic interest which it may possess. The real value and importance of American history lies in its political side. With no other nation can we so clearly trace the political institutions and usages from their very cradle. Moreover, American history should have special interest for an Englishman. In it he sees the political life of its ancestors, that political life from which his own is immediately descended, transplanted to a soil utterly different from that in which it sprang up. He there sees how his own political institutions have fitted themselves to divers states of society, differing widely from his own, and as widely from one another, in climate, in manners, in resources, in tastes and character. Another source of interest lies in this, that the political history of America is a process yet incomplete, a process whose further history is of unbounded importance to the future welfare of mankind. The future political history of America will be the history of a wonderful and gigantic experiment. It will show how far institutions which have hitherto flourished only in comparatively small communities can fit themselves

to the wants of a fast nation, whose parts differ widely from one another. That the Northern, Southern and Western States, with their widely differing interests, ideas, commerce and mode of life should continue to form one political whole may at first sight seem impossible. Yet this would not be more marvellous than what we have already seen in America. If any one, a century ago, had speculated on the future of America, he would scarcely have thought it possible that the New Englander and the Louisiana Frenchman, the Northern merchant and the Southern slave-holder, should remain free citizens of one republic. More wonderful still would it have seemed that these institutions which grew up in England centuries before America was discovered should have sown the seeds, both of the American nation as a whole and of each of its separate and widely differing parts. When we reflect upon this we may well believe it possible that the institutions of America will so expand as to meet the growing wants of the nation, and that the political freedom which England handed over to her American descendants will achieve a greater and more abiding triumph than it has yet won.

INDEX.

A.

Abenakis, the, 131.
 Abolition movement, the rise of, 334.
 Acadia, 129; settlement of, 94; Southern, conquest of by the English, 209.
 Acadians, banishment of by the English government, 209.
 Adams, John, 251; sent as an envoy to England, 290; elected President, 294; defeated for the Presidency, 296; death of, 317.
 Adams, John Quincy, President, his policy, 316.
Alabama, the cruiser, 374.
 Albany, conference at, 206.
 Albermarle, Duke of, a proprietor of Carolina, 171; settlement of, *ib.*
 Albert de Prado, his voyage, 32.
 Alexander, the Indian chief, 115.
 Algiers, war with, 300.
 Alien Law, the, 296.
 Allen, Ethan, takes Ticondoroga, 243; his capture, 246.
 America, geography of, 1; coast of, 5; nations of, 8.
 Amidas, his voyage, 36.
 André, his seizure and death, 272.
 Andros, Sir Edmund, governor of New England, 122; governor of New York, 163.
 Annapolis captured from the French, 135.
 Anniversary of Independence, the fiftieth, 317.
 Antietam, battle of, 366.
 Appalachians, war with South Carolina, 174.
 Archdale, John, governor of South Carolina, 173.
 Argall, governor of Virginia, 48.
 Arkansas becomes a state, 325.
 Arlington, Lord, grant of Virginia to, 56.

Army, nature of the American in 1753, 205; the American, disaffected after the War of Independence, 280.
 Arnold, Benedict, 246; his treason, 272.
 Ashburton treaty, 324.
 Assembly, first held in Virginia in 1618, 48.
Atlanta, captured by the Federals, 376.
 Augusta, settlement of, 193.

B.

Bacon, his rebellion, 56; death of, 58.
 Baltimore, the first Lord, 146; the second Lord, 147; his dispute with Virginia, 52; city of, attacked by the British, 310.
 Bank, Jackson's contest with, 320.
 Barlow, his voyage, 36.
 Barré, 227.
 Bartram, the naturalist, 223.
 Beauregard, General, 344.
 Bell of Tennessee, a candidate for the Presidency, 338.
 Belcher, governor of New England, 142; his dismissal, *ib.*
 Bellomont, Lord, 127, 166.
 Berkeley, governor of Virginia, 56; Lord, proprietor of New Jersey, 179.
 Bernard, governor of Massachusetts, 232.
 Blockade of the Southern Ports, 345, 357, 373.
 Boston, the massacre at, 233; riots at, 235; the Port Act, 236; evacuated by the British, 249.
 Bowdoin, James, governor of Massachusetts, 282.
 Braddock, General, the defeat and death, 207.
 Bradford, governor of Plymouth, 65.

Bradstreet, Simon, sent as a commissioner to England, 109.
 Bragg, General, invades Kentucky, 365.
 Brandywine, battle of, 260.
 Breckenridge of Kentucky a candidate for the Presidency, 338.
 Brook, Lord, 76, 85.
 Brooklyn, American defeat at, 257.
 Brown, John, 336; John and Samuel banished from Massachusetts, 79.
 Buchanan, President, 336.
 Buchanan, his policy towards the South, 341, 343.
 Bull Run, battle of, 351.
 Bunker's Hill, battle of, 244.
 Burgoyne, General, his expedition and surrender, 263.
 Burke, Edmund, 230; his scheme of conciliation, 239.
 Burnet, William, governor of Massachusetts, 140; governor of New York, 167.
 Burnside, General, 366.
 Burr, Aaron, 296; shoots Hamilton, 301; his plot, 302.
 Butler, General, 358.

C.

Cabot, Sebastian, his discoveries, 23; made grand pilot, 33.
 Calhoun, his character, 319; his policy, 327.
 California acquired by the United States, 351; gold discoveries in, 387.
 Calvert, George, see Baltimore; Cecilius, see Baltimore; Charles, governor of Maryland, 154.
 Canada, condition of in 1700, 129; conquest of, 212; attacked by the Americans, 245; insurrection in, 323.
 Canonicus, 65.
 Cape Breton, capture of, 213.
 Carolina, its first settlement and constitution, 170; divided into North and South, 172; disturbances in, *ib.*; general condition of, 178.
Caroline, affair of the ship, 323.
 Carteret, Sir George, proprietor of New Jersey, 179; Philip, 180.
 Castine, Baron, 131.
 Cedar Creek, battle of, 381.
 Cedar Mountain, battle of, 364.
 Chancellorsville, battle of, 368.
 Charles I., his dealings with Virginia, 51.
 Charles II., his grant of Virginia to Lords Culpepper and Arlington, 56; proclaimed in New England, 108.
 Charleston, defence of against Parker, 256; harbour of, blocked up by the Federals, 357; unsuccessfully attacked by the Federals, 374.
 Charters, attack on the New England, 138; those of the Jerseys threatened, 183.
 Chatham, see Pitt.
 Chattanooga, battle of, 372.
 Cherokees, war with in South Carolina, 214.
Chesapeake, the, and *Leopard*, affair of, 303; and *Shannon*, 306.
 Chickahominies, league with, 47.
 Chickamanga, battle of, 371.
 Church of England, its position in the colonies, 218.
 Churches, meeting of in New England, 100.
 Cincinnati, society of, 281.
 Clarendon, Earl of, a proprietor of Carolina, 171.
 Clay, Henry, 321; his compromise bill in 1832, 320; his omnibus bill, 333.
 Clayborne, 148.
 Clinton, General, his successes in the South, 269.
 Coddington, of Rhode Island, 89.
 Colonization, motives for English in the seventeenth century, 40.
 Columbus, Christopher, his discoveries, 22.
 Commonwealth, its dealings with Virginia, 52; its dealings with New England, 96.
 Confederation, the first articles of, 253; finally settled, 278; its shortcomings, 279; New England, formation of, 95; disputes in, 104.
 Confederacy, Southern, formation of, 342.
 Conscription, result of at New York, 373.
 Constitution, the Federal, 286; put in force, 288.
 Congress at New York in 1692, 132.
 Convention troops, treatment of, 264.
 Connecticut, settlement of, 83; constitution of, 84; charter of, 111; its union with Newhaven, 112; loses its charter, 122.

Conway, the English statesman, 227 ;
the American, intrigues against
Washington, 268.
Corper, the novelist, 391.
Copley, the painter, 224.
Cornbury, Lord, 138, 166.
Cornwallis, his surrender, 275.
Cortez, Hernando, 25.
Cosby, governor of New York, 167.
Cotton-gin, the, invented by Eli Whit-
ney, 314.
Council, position of in Virginia, 56.
Court, the supreme, 288.
Cranfield, Edward, 120.
Creek War, 307.
Creeks, alliance with, 193.
Creole, affair of, 324.
Crogan, Colonel, defends Fort Ste-
phenson, 305.
Cromwell, dealings with New Eng-
land, 101.
Crown Point, taken by Ethan Allen,
243.
Culpepper, Lord, grant of Virginia to,
56 ; Lord, governor of Virginia, 59.

D.

Dale, Sir Thomas, governor of Vir-
ginia, 46.
D'Aulney, 102.
Davis, Jefferson, elected President of
the Southern Confederacy, 342 ;
capture of, 385.
Dearborn, General, destroys Toronto,
305.
De Gourgues, Dominic, 29.
Delaware, Lord, governor of Virginia,
45 ; becomes a separate state, 188.
Democrats, or States right party, for-
mation of, 291.
D'Estaing, Admiral, 269.
Dickinson, James, of Pennsylvania,
245.
Dieskan, death of, 210.
Dinwiddie, governor of Virginia, 204.
Doegs, war with, 57.
Donelson, Fort, captured by the Fede-
rals, 355.
Douglas of Illinois, defeated by Lin-
coln for the Presidency, 338.
Dred Scot case, the, 335.
Dudley, Joseph, 122 ; his disputes
with the assembly of Massachusetts,
127.
Dummer, Jeremiah, his defence of
the charter, 139.

Dunmore, Lord, governor of Virginia,
246.
Duquesne, Fort, surrendered by Wash-
ington, 206 ; taken by the English,
212.
Durpee, death of, 323.
Dutch, their settlements, 95 ; their
disputes with New England, 100.

E.

Early, General, invades Maryland,
380.
Education, want of in Virginia, 55 ;
in America, 221.
Edwards, Jonathan, 223.
Effingham, Lord, governor of Virginia,
59.
Eliot, John, 114 ; his book, 108.
Emancipation proclaimed by President
Lincoln, 367.
Endicott, of Massachusetts, 78.
Erie, Lake, battle on, 306.

F.

Fair Oaks, battle of, 361.
Falmouth, Peace of, 137.
Farragut, Admiral, 358.
Federal party, formation of, 291 ; its
defeat in 1800, 295.
Federalist, the, 289.
Five Nations, the, 17, 102, 119 ; hos-
tile to the French, 131 ; their deal-
ings with New York, 163.
Fillmore, succeeds to the Presidency,
332.
Fletcher, Colonel, 126 ; governor of
New York, 166.
Florida explored by Spaniards, 28 ;
French colony in, 29 ; becomes
a State, 325.
Floyd, Secretary of War, 343.
France, Commissioners sent to by Con-
gress in 1776, 255 ; alliance with the
United States, 255.
Franklin, Benjamin, 207, 223 ; exam-
ined as to the Stamp Act, 230 ; sent
as commissioner to France, 255,
265.
Frederica, settlement of, 193.
Fredericksburg, battle of, 366.
Fremont, General, proposed as a can-
didate for the Presidency, 381.
French, their attempts to settle in Flo-
rida, 29 ; their settlements, 94 ; their

dealings with New England, 102;
settlements, character of, 130; in-
vaded the English colonies, 132.
Frobisher, Martin, his voyages, 33.
Frontenac, Count, 130, 132.
Fulton, Robert, 315.

G.

Gainsville, battle of, 364.
Gardiuer, banished from Massachu-
setts, 81.
Garrison, William, the abolitionist,
335.
Gates, General, 263, 268.
Genet, French representative in Amer-
ica, 293.
Georgia, settlement of, 189; charter of,
191; invasions of by Spaniards, 198;
becomes a royal colony, 201; invaded
by Sherman, 376.
Germans in the Spanish colonies, 30;
in Georgia, 193.
Germantown, battle of, 261.
Gettysburg, battle of, 370.
Ghent, treaty of, 314.
Gilbert, Sir Humphrey, his voyage
and death, 35.
Godfrey, the mathematician, 223.
Goffe, the regicide, 108.
Gold discovered in California, 332,
387.
Gorges, Sir Ferdinando, 60, 70; his
scheme of government for New
England, 82; becomes proprietor of
Maine, 90; Robert, 70.
Gorton, 98.
Grafenried, Baron, 174.
Grant, General, 354, 356; his plan of
campaign, 375.
Great Britain, war with in 1812, 302.
Green, General, 274.
Grenville, Sir Richard, his voyage,
36; George, 225.
Guadalupe Hidalgo, treaty of, 331.
Guildford, settlement of, 88; battle of,
274.

H.

Ha'leck, General, 354.
Hamilton, Alexander, his political
views, 283, 284; writes in the
Federalist, 289; his character as a
statesman, 292; his death, 302.

Harman, General, defeated by Indians,
290.
Harper's Ferry, arsenal at, seized by
the confederates, 349; seized by
General Jackson, 366.
Harrison, General, defeats the Shaw-
nees at Tippecanoe, 305.
Hartford, convention of, 319.
Harvard College, foundation of,
222.
Harvey, Governor of Virginia, 52.
Hawthorn, the novelist, 391.
Henry VIII., his influence on seaman-
ship, 33.
Henry Patrick, 228; elected governor
of Virginia, 251; his political views,
284; opposes the Federal constitu-
tion, 289.
Hillsborough, Lord, 226.
Hispaniola, discovery of, 23.
Hocking, death of, 93.
Hood, General, his unsuccessful in-
vasion of Tennessee, 378.
Hooker, General, 368.
Hore, his voyage, 32.
Houston, President of Texas, 328.
Howe, Lord, and his brothers in
America, 256.
Hubbard, his history of the Indian
wars, 222.
Hudson, Henry, his discoveries, 95.
Hull, General, invades Canada, 304.
Hunter, governor of New York,
167.
Hurons, the, 131.
Hutchinson, Mrs., 79; Lieutenant
governor of Massachusetts, 227; his
letters, 235.

I.

Independence, the Declaration of,
251.
Independents, contest with Presby-
terians, 59.
Indian, origin of name, 9.
Indians, their manners and customs,
16; war with in Virginia, 49, 54;
treatment of by Virginians, 16;
attempts to christianize, 114; war
with in 1790, 290; troubles with in
1835, 322.
Indiana becomes a state, 325.
Iowa becomes a state, 333.
Ironclads first used, 359.
roquois, see Five Nations.

J.

- Jackson, Andrew, 307; defends Mobile and New Orleans, 311; elected President, 318; opposes nullification, 320; overthrows the Bank, *ib.*: General 'Stonewall,' 352; his campaign in the Shenandoah valley, 361; his death, 368.
 James I., dissolution of the Virginian Company by, 50.
 James II., his dealings with New England, 122.
 Jay, a writer in the *Federalist*, 289.
 Jefferson, Thomas, 252; his character as a statesman, 292; elected vice-president, 294; elected president, 296; his policy as president, 298; death of, 317.
 Jesuit missionaries, 130.
 Jessop, General, his treachery to the Indians, 323.
 Johnson, Andrew, succeeds Lincoln as President, 385.
 Johnston, General Joseph, 351; his surrender, 384.
 Jones, Captain Paul, 276.
 Jumonville, death of, 206.

K.

- Kansas, struggle for, 336.
 Kearsage, the, destroys the *Alabama*, 374.
 Kennebec settlement in 1607, 60.
 Kentucky, admitted as a state, 297; invaded by the Confederates, 365.
 Kieft, governor of New Netherlands, 157.
 Kirk, David, captures Quebec, 94.

L.

- Lane, Ralph, 36.
 Lafayette, the marquis of, 265.
 La Salle, 202.
 La Tour, 102.
 Laud, Archbishop, his dealings with Massachusetts, 81.
 Laudonnière, his colony, 29.
 Laws, early Virginian, 46.
 Lawson, death of, 174.
 Lee, General, 362; invades Maryland twice, 366, 369; his surrender, 383; Ann, founder of the Shakers, 389.

- Leisler, governor of New York, 133; his rebellion and death, 164.
 Leopard and Chesapeake, affair of, 303.
 Lexington, battle of, 242.
 Liberties, the Body of, 77.
 Liberty, the sloop, 232.
 Lincoln, General, 270; Abraham, his character, 338; elected President, 339; his inaugural address, 344; emancipates the slaves, 367; re-elected President, 381; murdered, 385.
 Locke, John, his constitution for Carolina, 170.
 Logan, James, 223.
 Loudon, Lord, his dispute with New York and Massachusetts, 211.
 Louisiana, settled by the French, 202; purchased from the French, 299; admitted as a territory, 300; admitted as a state, 300.
 Louisburg, capture of, 144.
 Lovelace, Lord, governor of New York, 162.
 Loyalists, see Tories.
 Lundy's Lane, battle of, 311.
 Lygonia, settlement of, 91.
 Lyttelton, governor of South Carolina, 215.

M.

- Macleod, Alexander, trial of, 373.
 Madison, James, writes in the *Federalist*, 289.
 Maine, its settlement and constitution, 90; purchase of by Massachusetts, 122; reconstituted as a separate state, 325.
 Mainland of America, discovery of, 23.
Manasses, the ram, 359.
 Mansfield, Lord, his speech about America, 248.
 Marquette, his discoveries, 202.
 Martin, governor of North Carolina, 250.
 Maryland, dispute with Virginia, 52; first settlement of, 146; constitution of 148; dissensions in, 150; disputes with Pennsylvania, 187; twice invaded by the Confederates, 366, 369.
 Massachusetts, first settlement of, 71; character of the first settlers, 72; constitution of, 74; laws of, 77; re-

INDEX.

- religious disputes, 78; its charter threatened, 82; its dealings with Plymouth, 93; loses its charter, 121; disputes between the governor and the assembly, 139; insurrection in 1786, 282; Bay, Company of, 71.
- Massacre, the Virginian, 49; at Boston, 233.
- Massasoit, 65.
- Mason, John, 79, 119; death of, 83.
- Mather, Increase, 128; Cotton, *ib.*
- Maverick, Samuel, sent as a commissioner to New England, 110.
- Mayflower*, voyage of, 63.
- Mayhew, Thomas, 114.
- McDowell, General, 351.
- McClellan, General, his invasion of the south, 361; defeated for the Presidency, 382.
- Meade, General, 369.
- Melendez, 29.
- Memphis, taken by the Federals, 357.
- Merrimac, the, 359.
- Mexicans, the, 8; their customs, 14.
- Mexico, conquest of, 24, 30; war with 329; city of, taken by the Americans, 331.
- Miantonomo, death of, 103.
- Michigan becomes a state, 325.
- Mims, Fort, attack upon, 307.
- Missouri becomes a state, 325.
- Milford, settlement of, 88.
- Mohawks, see Five Nations.
- Mohegans, their dealings with New England, 103.
- Monitor, the, 359.
- Mononhangela, the, 205; battle of, 203.
- Montcalm, 211; death of, 214.
- Monroe, President, 316.
- Monroe doctrine, the, 316.
- Monterey, capture of, 330.
- Montgomery, Richard, 245; death of, 246.
- Montreal, capture of by the Americans, 246.
- Moore, John, governor of South Carolina, his war with the Appalachians, 174.
- Mormons, the, 389.
- Morris, Gouverneur, 285.
- Morton, his settlement, 66; banished from Massachusetts, 81.
- Motley, the historian, 391.
- Murreesboro, battle of, 365.
- Muyscans, the, 8.
- N.
- Narragansetts, their first war with New England, 103; second war with New England, 117.
- Nashville, battle of, 378.
- Nauvoo, the Mormon city, 390.
- Navigation Laws, enactment of, 53.
- Navy, the American, in the war of Independence, 276.
- New Brunswick, acquired by the English, 209.
- New England, name given, 60; its general character, 92; after the Restoration, 107; commissioners sent to, 110; change in the character of, 113; the Revolution in, 124.
- Newfoundland, discovery of, 23; Lord Baltimore's settlement in, 146.
- New Hampshire, its settlement and constitution, 120; constitution of, 145; forms an independent government, 250.
- Newhaven, its settlement and constitution, 87; united to Connecticut, 112.
- New Jersey, sale of by Duke of York, 179; origin of name, 180; division of, 181; condition of in 1700, 183; is united under the crown with a new constitution, 184.
- New Netherlands, settlement of, 156; English conquest of, 160.
- New Orleans, defence of by Jackson, 311; taken by the Federals, 358.
- New York, recovered by the Dutch, 162; becomes finally an English Possession, *ib.*; its constitution after the Revolution, 165; disputes between governor and assembly, 167; its general condition, 168; taken by the British, 257.
- Newport, settlement of, 89.
- Newspapers, American, in the eighteenth century, 222.
- Nicholls, governor of New York, 162.
- Norfolk, bombardment of, 247; navy yard at, seized by the confederates, 349.
- North, and south, differences between, 67, 217; Lord, his American Policy, 238, 267; Carolina, abolition of Propriety government in 177; refuses to accept the Federal constitution, 289.
- Norton, John, sent as a commissioner to England, 109.
- Norridgewock, Jesuit station at, 137.

Nunez, Vasco, 27.
Nullification, 318.
Nyantics, their war with New England, 104.

O.

Oglethorpe, General James 190; appointed governor of Georgia, 192; leaves Georgia, 200.
Ohio, admitted as a territory, 298; admitted as a State, 298; Valley, conquest of, 211; company, formed, 203.
Opechancanough, 49; death of, 54.
Oregon, disputes about, with Great Britain, 331; becomes a territory, 332.
Orkney, Lord, Governor of Virginia, 59.
Osceola, 323.

P.

Pakenham, General, 312.
Paris, Peace of, 215.
Parker, Sir Peter, defeated at Charleston, 256; death of, 311.
Parliament, its relation to the colonies, 53.
Parris, a New England clergyman, 129.
Patroons, 157.
Patterson, William, his draught of a Constitution, 286.
Peace of 1783, 276.
Pemberton, General, 370.
Penn, William, 184; his grant of land from the Crown, 185; his dealings with the Indians, 186; deprived of his proprietorship, 187.
Pennsylvania, its settlement and constitution, 185; disputes with Maryland, 187; general state of, 189; insurrection in, 290.
Pequods, war with, 85.
Perry, Commodore, his victory on Lake Erie, 306.
Peru, conquest of, 27, 30.
Peruvians, 8; their customs, 12.
Pesacus, 104.
Philadelphia occupied by the British, 260; convention at, in 1787, 284.
Philip, the Indian chief, war with, 115; death of, 117.
Phipps, Sir William, 125.

Pierce, President, 334.
Pinckney, Thomas, defeated for the Presidency, 294.
Pitt, his American policy, 212, 229, 248, 267; his scheme of conciliation, 238; his death, 268.
Pittsburg, see Fort Duquesne.
Pizarro, Francis, 27.
Plattsburg, battle of, 311.
Plymouth, landing at, 64; state of, in early times, 66; constitution of, 63; its dealings with Massachusetts, 93; united to Massachusetts, 124; Company, formation of, 64; its dissolution, 82.
Pocahontas, 47.
Polk, General, 354.
Ponce de Leon, 28.
Pontiac, war with, 216.
Pope, General, 355; his invasion of the South, 363.
Portsmouth, settlement of, 89.
Potomac, the army of, 360.
Powhatan, 47, 49.
Presbyterians, contest with Independents, 99; in New England, 99.
Prescott, General, captured by the Americans, 260; the historian, 391.
President, how elected, 287; his functions, 288.
Preston, Captain, trial of, 235.
Privy Council, its dealings with Massachusetts, 81.
Proctor, General, attacks Fort Stephenson, 306.
Proprietary colonies, nature of, 90.
Protective duties, question of, 317.
Providence, settlement of, 88.
Puritanism, rise of, 61.
Putnam, defeat of, at Brooklyn, 257.

Q.

Quakers in New England, 105; their origin and early history, 105, 179; persecution of, in New England, 108.
Quebec, foundation of, 94; capture of, by Kirk, 94; unsuccessful attack on, 135; taken by Wolfe, 213; siege of, in 1775, 246.
Quinpiac, settlement of, 87.
Quo Warranto, writ of, against the Virginia Company, 51; writ of, against the Charter of Massachusetts, 82.

R.

Races, division of American, 9.
 Raleigh, Sir Walter, his first colony, 36; his second colony, 38.
 Rallé, Sebastian, death of, 137.
 Randolph, sent as a Commissioner to New England, 120; John, his draught of a constitution, 286.
 Ratcliffe banished from Massachusetts, 87.
 Red Indians, see Indians.
 Representatives, House of, how elected, 286.
 Restoration, effect of, in New England, 107; effect of, in Virginia, 54.
 Revolution of 1688 in Virginia, 59; in New England, 124; in New York, 164.
 Rhode Island, settlement of, 88; its early history and constitution, 89; charter of, 111; loses its charter, 122; refuses to accept the Federal constitution, 289.
 Rice, culture of, in South Carolina, 273.
 Richmond, evacuated by the confederates, 383.
 Right of search, disputes about, 302.
 Rittenhouse, the mathematician, 223.
 Rockingham, Lord, 230.
 Rolfe, John, marries Pocahontas, 47.
 Roman Catholics, laws against, in Maryland, 155.
 Rosecrans, General, 364.
 Ross, General, 310.

S.

St. Augustine, Spanish settlement, 175; attacked by Oglethorpe, 197.
 St. Clair, General, defeated by Indians, 290.
 St. John's, Capture of, by the Americans, 246.
 Salem, disturbance at, 240.
 Salzburgers in Georgia, 193.
 San Francisco, 387.
 Sandys, Sir Edwin, treasurer of the Virginia Company, 48.
 Saratoga, surrender of the British at, 263.
 Sasacus, 86.
 Savannah, settlement of, 192; taken by the Federals, 377.
 Say and Sele, Lord, 76, 85.

Scott, General, 330.
 Scrooby, Independents from, 62.
 Sects, religious, in America, 389.
 Schenectady, destruction of, 132.
 Sedition Law, the, 296.
 Seminole Indians, first war with, 313.
 Seminoles, second war with, 323.
 Senators, how elected, 286.
 Seward, Secretary of State, 344; attempt to murder, 385.
 Seymour, governor of New York, proposed as a Candidate for the Presidency, 382.
 Shaftesbury, Lord, his constitution for Carolina, 170.
 Shakers, sect of, 389.
 Shannon and Chesapeake, 306.
 Shawnee prophet, the, 305.
 Shays, heads an insurrection, 282.
 Shelburne, Lord, his American policy, 226.
 Sherman, General, 365; his invasion of the South Western States, 375.
 Shiloh, battle of, 356.
 Shirley, governor of Massachusetts, 143.
 Shute, Colonel, governor of Massachusetts, 139.
 Slave Trade, the, 328.
 Slavery, 220, 326: disputes about, 254.
 Smith, John, of Virginia, 43; Sir Thomas, treasurer of the Virginia Company, 48; Joseph, founder of the Mormon sect, 389.
 Sothel, governor of Carolina, 172.
 South, and North, differences between, 67, 217; policy of, 327; Carolina, trouble with the Indians, 174; abolition of the proprietary government in, 176; threatens nullification, 318; politics of, 319; secedes from the Union, 339.
 Southern confederacy, formation of, 342.
 Spain, character of its American conquests, 30; English raids on her American colonies, 34; sends a fleet against South Carolina, 176; threatens Georgia, 194; war with in 1739, 196; disputes with about Mississippi, 290.
 Squanto, 118.
 Stamp Act, 226; how received in America, 227; repealed, 229.
 Starke, General, 263.
 State Constitutions, the various, 255.
 States right party, see Democrats.

Steamboat, the, introduced into America by Fulton, 315.
 Stephens, Alexander, elected Vice-President of the Southern Confederacy, 342.
 Stephenson, Fort, attack upon, 306.
 Stenben, Baron, 265.
 Stith, his history of Virginia, 222.
 Stone, William, governor of Maryland, 151.
 Stony Point, taken by the Americans, 270.
 Stuart, the painter, 224 ; General, 361, 370.
 Stuyvesant, Peter, governor of New Netherlands, 100, 157.
 Sumter, Fort, bombarded, 344.
 Susquehannahs, war with, 57 ; hostile to Maryland, 155.
 Swedes, their settlement, 160.

T.

Tallapoosa, battle of, 309.
 Tarrateens, war with, 118.
 Taxation of the colonies by Parliament, 224.
 Taylor, General, in Mexico, 329 ; elected President, 332.
 Tecumseh, 305 ; death of, *ib.*
 Tennessee, admitted as a territory, 298 ; admitted as a state, *ib.*
 Territories, the, of Pennsylvania, 186 ; how admitted, 296.
 Texas, revolts from Mexico, 328 ; annexation of, *ib.*
 Thames, battle of, 306.
 Theatre, attempt to found at Boston, 223.
 Thomas, General, 371.
 Ticonderoga, attacked by English in 1755, 210 ; taken by Ethan Allen, 243.
 Tippecanoe, battle of, 305.
 Tlascala, 8, 11 ; conquest of, 26.
 Tories, the American, 255.
 Toronto, destruction of, 305.
 Townshend, Charles, 226 ; his American policy, 231.
 Townships, formation of in New England, 67.
 Trent, affair of, 360.
 Trenton, defeat of the British at, 259.
 Tripoli, war with, 300.
 Tunis, quarrel with the Dey of, 301.
 Tuscaroras, their war with North Carolina, 174.

U.

Uncas, 103.
 Utah, the Mormon State, 390.

V.

Van Buren, his character as a statesman, 322 ; his appointment as Ambassador to England, vetoed by the Senate, 322 ; elected President, *ib.* ; defeated for the Presidency, 335.
 Vane, Henry, governor of Massachusetts, 80.
 Vera Cruz, capture of, 330.
 Vermont, admitted as a State, 297.
 Verrazani, his discoveries, 24.
 Vice President, how elected, 287.
 Vicksburg, unsuccessfully attacked by the Federals, 358 ; fall of, 370.
 Virginia, state of, in early times, 46 ; first Assembly held in, 1618, 48 ; dispute with Maryland, 52 ; condition of, in the seventeenth century, 54 ; war with the Indians, 54 ; rebellion in 1675, 56 ; joins the Southern Confederacy, 345 ; Company, formation of, 42 ; chartered, 45 ; dissolution of, 50 ; Western, holds to the North, 353.

W.

Wadsworth, Captain, 123, 127.
 Waldron, Major, death of, 118.
 Walpole, Sir Robert, his American policy, 219, 225.
 Washington, George, sent to the Ohio valley, 204 ; commands the Virginia forces in 1756, 208 ; appointed Commander in Chief, 243 ; his difficulties as Commander, 261 ; dealings with the army after the war, 281 ; elected President, 289 ; his political position, 292 ; retirement of, 293 ; death of, 294 ; city of, destruction of, by the British, 309 ; threatened by the Confederates, 350 ; Territory of, 332.
 Wayne, General, 270 ; defeats the Indians, 290.
 Weathersford, 307.
 Webster, Daniel, 321 ; opposes war with England, 332.
 West, the painter, 224.
 West India Islands, inhabitants of, 15.

West Indian Company, the Dutch,
156.
West New Jersey, sold to Quakers.
181; disputes with Duke of York,
182.
Weston, his colony, 65.
Whalley, the regicide, 108.
Wheelwright, minister at Boston, 79.
Whig party, its origin, 321.
Whitney, Eli, invents the Cotton-gin,
314.
Wilderness, the battles in, 378.
William and Mary, College of, 60;
their charter to Massachusetts, 124;
their government of New England,
126.
Williams, Roger, banished from Mas-
sachusetts, 79; elected President of
Rhode Island, 90.
Wilmot Proviso, the, 333.

Winthrop, John, 73; the younger, 85,
III.
Wisconsin becomes a state, 333.
Witchcraft, trials for, in New England,
128.
Wolfe, General, his attack on Quebec,
213.
Wollaston, his settlement, 66.

Y.

Yamassees attack South Carolina, 175.
Yardley, governor of Virginia, 47.
York, Duke of, his proprietary charter,
162.
Yorktown, surrender of the British at,
275.
Young, Brigham, 390.

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CONTENTS.

CLASSICS—

| | |
|---|------|
| ELEMENTARY CLASSICS | PAGE |
| CLASSICAL SERIES | 3 |
| CLASSICAL LIBRARY, (1) Text, (2) Translations | 7 |
| GRAMMAR, COMPOSITION, AND PHILOLOGY | 11 |
| ANTIQUITIES, ANCIENT HISTORY, AND PHILOSOPHY | 17 |
| | 21 |

MATHEMATICS—

| | |
|---|----|
| ARITHMETIC AND MENSURATION | 23 |
| ALGEBRA | 25 |
| EUCLID, AND ELEMENTARY GEOMETRY | 20 |
| TRIGONOMETRY | 28 |
| HIGHER MATHEMATICS | 29 |

SCIENCE—

| | |
|--|----|
| NATURAL PHILOSOPHY | 36 |
| ASTRONOMY | 41 |
| CHEMISTRY | 41 |
| BIOLOGY | 43 |
| MEDICINE | 47 |
| ANTHROPOLOGY | 48 |
| PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY AND GEOLOGY | 43 |
| AGRICULTURE | 49 |
| POLITICAL ECONOMY | 50 |
| MENTAL AND MORAL PHILOSOPHY | 50 |

| | |
|---------------------------------|----|
| HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY | 52 |
|---------------------------------|----|

MODERN LANGUAGES AND LITERATURE—

| | |
|------------------------|----|
| ENGLISH | 56 |
| FRENCH | 61 |
| GERMAN | 64 |
| MODERN GREEK | 66 |
| ITALIAN | 66 |

| | |
|----------------------------|----|
| DOMESTIC ECONOMY | 66 |
|----------------------------|----|

| | |
|------------------------------------|----|
| ART AND KINDRED SUBJECTS | 67 |
|------------------------------------|----|

| | |
|-----------------------------|----|
| WORKS ON TEACHING | 67 |
|-----------------------------|----|

| | |
|--------------------|----|
| DIVINITY | 68 |
|--------------------|----|

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